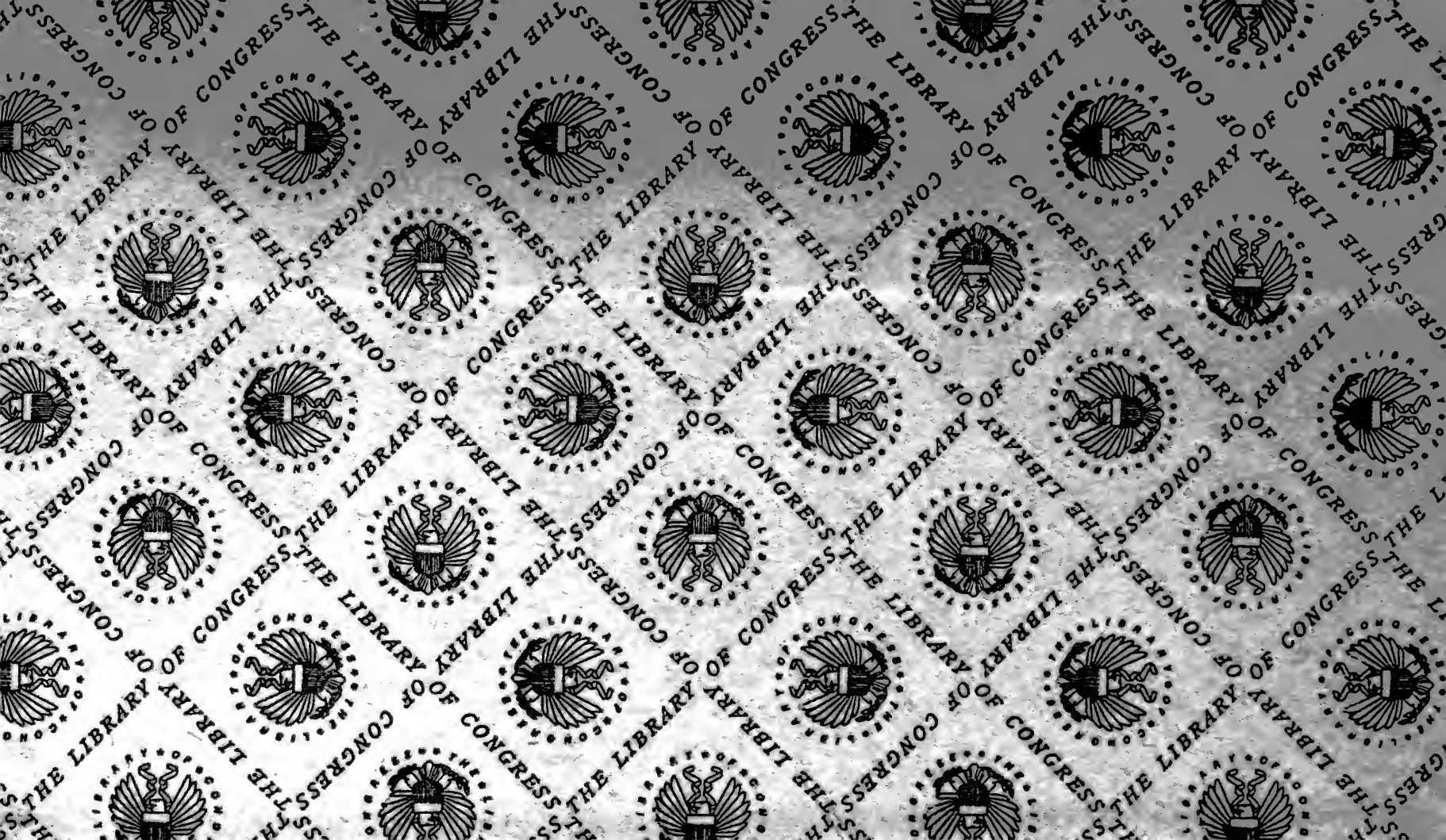
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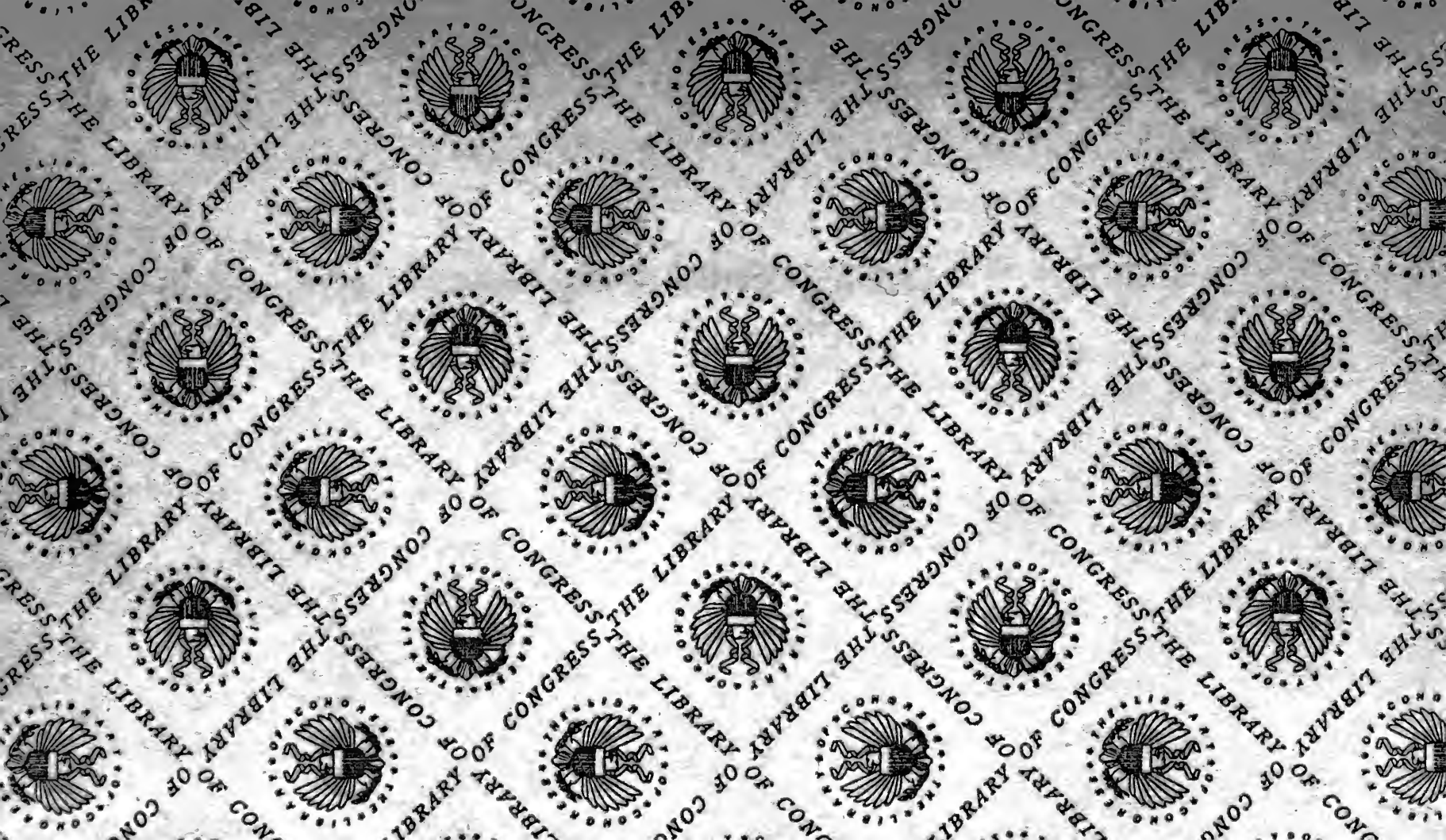
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The Sea Beggars

The Sea Beggars

Liberators of Holland from the Yoke of Spain

By

DINGMAN VERSTEEG

1901

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THE PEQUOD PRESS
NEW YORK

Gratefully Dedicated

To

THEODORE M. BANTA

(*Secretary of the Holland Society of New York*)

WHOSE GENEROUS INTEREST IN THE HISTORY OF THE LAND OF HIS DUTCH ANCESTORS RENDERED POSSIBLE THE PUBLISHING OF THIS WORK.

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Preface.

THE revolt of the Netherlands against Spain in 1568, changed the political aspect of the greater part of the world.

It is because of this revolt, and the war of eighty years following, that the people of these United States are not a Spanish-speaking nation, but are, instead, an English-speaking one.

If Philip II. of Spain, with his Spanish advisers at Madrid, and his governor-general in the Netherlands, had—in their dealings with the Netherland people—practised moderation and had exercised wise statesmanship, the Dutch would not have revolted. Possibly for one century and a quarter longer they would have remained loyal to the Spanish Hapsburgs, and have aided—or at least not opposed—the aims of Spain.

One of those aims was the subjugation and colonization of the entire American hemisphere. At the outbreak of the eighty years' war for Dutch independence, Spanish rule was firmly established far into the territory at present embraced within the boundaries of these United States. And, at the time mentioned, there did not exist a single European Power strong enough to have interposed effectively between mighty Spain and her ambitious aims.

Long before the most advanced European nation of the period would have become powerful enough successfully to attempt territorial aggrandizement in any part of the terri-

tory at present occupied—on this continent—by the United States of North America, that territory would have been settled and firmly held by large numbers of Spanish-speaking colonists. These colonists—supported by the armies and navies of the powerful and wealthy mother-country—would have frustrated any attempted encroachment by the other nationalities.

It was owing only to the weakness of Spain, consequent upon the eighty years' war, that the English were permitted to gain and retain a foothold on this northern part of the Western hemisphere. Had the reigning family and the authorities of Spain exercised wise forethought in their dealings with the Netherland people, Spanish domination—assisted by Dutch coöperation under Spanish supremacy—would have rendered the whole of this territory Spanish many years before the English would have become strong enough to attempt the conquest and the independent settling of any part of the American continent. And—in the light of history—it is safe to assert that the French occupation of Canada, if partly successful at first, would have been of brief duration in the face of the united attacks of Spain and the Spanish-speaking colonists.

As it was, the Spaniards not only were obliged to forego the active coöperation of the Dutch, but were even forced, before long, to carry on a war of defense against them in Europe, as well as on the high seas and in the distant colonies. The Spanish losses during this war of eighty years' duration, were appalling; not only in men but even more so in treasure.

Several richly-laden Spanish fleets and innumerable single merchant vessels were captured by the Dutch, to the great injury of Spanish subjects and government. The output of the American gold-diggings and silver-mines, destined to

defray the expense of the war against the Dutch, fell into their hands, enabling them to fight the Spaniards with the Spaniards' own weapons. Even as far east as the Philippine Islands,* the Dutch privateers harassed Spanish commerce, and captured Spanish merchantmen.

Under these conditions it was impossible for much-afflicted Spain—now attacked also by other enemies—to extend any further her dominions in the New World. She now was able only to defend and keep what she had successfully colonized. Small Spanish garrisons, assisted by the colonists themselves, usually succeeded in preserving for Spain the larger part of the American territory, where strong Spanish-speaking settlements had grown up during the century of colonization under undisputed Spanish supremacy. That those settlements were strong and able to defend successfully their Spanish allegiance against alien encroachment, is proved by the several futile attempts of the English—aided by the American colonists of the various nationalities then acknowledging English sway—to subdue parts of Spanish America.

But Spain—since the beginning of the eighty years' war—was powerless to oppose the influx of French, English, Dutch, and Swedes into the North American territories not yet occupied by continuous and strong Spanish-speaking colonies. These four nationalities now were able to appropriate to themselves large slices along the North Atlantic coast-line of the American continent, peopling them with settlers of their own nationality, under their own language, laws, and flag.

Had it not been for the partial disintegration of the Spanish empire—owing to this eighty years' war, and to the

* See pages 41–44 "The Philippine Islands," by Ramon Reyes Lala.

tremendous losses engendered by it—Spain would, without great trouble, have kept out every other nation. Spanish domination, then, would have become an accomplished fact. The Spanish language—as a result of settlement under Spanish authority—would have been the language of this part of the Western hemisphere, as well as of Mexico, South and Central America.

Even the accident of Brazil being a Portuguese, instead of a Spanish-speaking, country, is directly traceable to Spain's tremendous losses and to the condition of bankruptcy brought about by the eighty years' war.

And at present history is repeating itself. The Boers of the South African plains, beneath the Southern Cross, are doing to the greatest maritime power of the twentieth century what the Sea Beggars of the Netherlands had been doing to the greatest land-power of the sixteenth century.

If England should continue in this unholy South African contest for gold and dominion, she will bankrupt herself. The small forces of the Boers of South Africa may not be able—and probably will not attempt—to defeat in pitched battles the tremendous English forces that have invaded and laid waste their countries. But the long duration of the South African struggle will ruin England, as Spain was ruined through the eighty years' war. For many years longer the Boers will hold out as their prototypes of the Netherlands before them held out.

England's security and her status as a World Power—all other conditions being favorable—depend upon the English navy. And with the ever-increasing expenditures—growing out of this South-African war—it will, before long, become impossible for the English to add to their fleet or even to repair what is going to decay. It will be the case of Spain over again. England's rivals, if they be wise

and do not permit themselves to be embroiled with one another, will be able to build up their navies, and found their maritime greatness, upon the ruins of England's solvency.

After the eighty-years' war had cost Spain more than fifty millions of guilders, Spanish energy in its prosecution began to slacken. Since its first beginning in 1568, Spain was really three times only in a condition to put forth any great effort to bring about a favorable ending of the contest.

The first supreme effort, in 1588, ended in the disasters to the Spanish Armada by the storms of the season; the second great attempt, in 1600, was frustrated by Prince Maurice's brilliant and decisive victory of Nieuwpoort, and the third and last attempt, in 1639, met with an ignominious defeat at the hands of the great Tromp, near the Downs in the English Channel.

Ever since the Sea Beggars took Briel, the eighty-years' war was, in general, on the part of the Spaniards, nothing but one prolonged effort to keep what they yet possessed; only seldom to regain what they had lost. The eighty years' war, hence, soon became to Spain largely a defensive war.

And the same is true, at present, of the operations by the English in South Africa. After the Boers had permitted Earl Roberts (of Pretoria) to lead his troops into those delusive Boer traps—Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, and Pretoria—the war, on the part of the English, has continually been a war of defense. They have not even been able to hold all they thought they had securely annexed. Concentration of garrisons has become the order of the day. The Boers have everywhere entered upon the offensive.

The only effectual way to fight the Dutch during the eighty years' war was by employing ships. Those ships—when

united into fleets—either fell into the hands of the Dutch or were destroyed, or else were sunk in battle, or succumbed to the fury of the elements. Spain's greatest pecuniary losses originated through the equipment and destruction of armadas, aided by the distance of the scene of operations, several hundred miles away, from the home-country.

The only effective way of fighting the noble Africander patriots is by using horses. And in this instance again we see a virtual repetition of history. At least twenty-five thousand " salted " horses would be needed simultaneously to carry on English operations against the brave defenders of South Africa's liberty.

And in view of the fact that—on an average—an imported horse lasts six weeks only, a quarter of a million of horses per annum, at an annual cost of a hundred million dollars, would be needed to carry on an offensive warfare by South Africa's devastators: the English civilizers.

The cost of this iniquitous war, if continued, will bankrupt England. Even if the struggle should last only ten years, the English national debt will have been increased by little less than three thousand million dollars, besides the piling up of an unbearable burden of direct and indirect taxes.

At present the credit of the English nation is yet good enough to enable them to borrow at the lowest rates of current interest. But this also will cease. With the piling-up of the English national debt, and the certain difficulty of meeting England's monetary obligations, the capitalists—at present still eager to lend—will then become suspicious, and the English people will be able to borrow money only at greatly-advanced rates of interest.

England's industrial and commercial prosperity is declining fast. And not Salisbury's panacea even—the study of

foreign languages—will arrest this downward course. It is only natural. The United States, Russia, Germany—not to mention other growing countries, all richer than England in natural resources, and in more favorable geographical positions—are to-day straining every nerve to relegate the English to the position where they belong. And the process has but just begun. The decrease of the people's earnings, the large increase of taxation, the continuous drains upon the English, through the interest of their huge national debt—coupled with a decreasing earning-capacity as a nation—will —if this South African war be much prolonged—reduce England to the condition of Spain and Turkey, and Salisbury will soon be able to add one more name to his list of dying nations.

Introduction.

ACCIDENT of birth had made a foreign potentate lord of all the Netherlands. Philip II., King of Spain, "The Spanish Tiberius," was alien by birth, as well as by sentiment, to his Netherland subjects. He deemed himself able to impose upon them his royal prerogative, as he and his father before him had succeeded in doing in the dominions of Spain. Soon after Philip's accession to the throne he endeavored, through his representatives at Brussels, to rule his Netherland provinces in the same manner as he was ruling his other inheritances,—by the simple declaration of his royal pleasure.

But the Netherlands, though ruled from Madrid, were neither a dependency of Spain nor an appanage of the Spanish Crown. They were independent States, some of which acknowledged Philip as Duke, others as Count, others as Margrave, others as Lord, but all with definitely recognized privileges and charters, which he had solemnly sworn to respect upon his accession to the throne.

In August, 1559, Philip was about to depart for his native Spain; he then promised the States-General of the Netherland provinces to remove from their country, within four months, the Spanish troops that had fought under his father in the Franco-Spanish wars. But not until 1561, when the Spanish King absolutely needed them in the Mediterranean, did he relieve the Netherlands of the hated presence of the alien soldiery.

He was equally remiss in regard to his promise not to invest foreigners with Netherland offices, whether civil, ecclesiastical or military. This promise also had been broken; the Cardinal Granvelle had not only been appointed a member of the Council of State,—the highest advisory body in the land,—but he was specially favored and exclusively consulted by the regent, Margaret of Parma. This displeased the nobles to such an extent that, in March, 1563, they leagued themselves against him, while some of the greatest nobles of the land, such as William the Silent, the Counts of Egmont and Hoorn, and others, resigned their seats in the Council of State on account of the insolent Granvelle's position therein. The nobles did not leave a stone unturned to bring about his fall; not succeeding, they did all that lay in their power to make Granvelle appear ridiculous in the eyes of the people. Even the king had been appealed to about the matter, but without avail.

At last the regent herself was forced to pray the king for Granvelle's recall; but even she was refused. So great was the opposition of all classes of the people that, notwithstanding the royal favor and the support of the regent, Granvelle requested his discharge. Accordingly, in April, 1564, he left the country, where, owing to his insensate pride and contempt for the natives, he had incurred the universal hatred of all classes of the people.

This Granvelle incident not only did much to weaken the popular respect for the government, but detached many a noble from the cause of Spain, and also laid the foundation of the opposition that culminated in the eighty years' war for liberty.

But with Granvelle's departure the reactionary measures of the government did not cease. In vain petitions and protests rained. When, at last, every remonstrance had been

ignored by the king at Madrid, as well as by his regent in the Netherlands, twenty nobles, on November 6th, 1565, assembled at Spa and agreed upon a compact, called the "Compromis," or "Covenant of the Nobles." This compact was effected for the purpose of resisting every attempt against the ancient liberties of their country, and the imposition of the royal will in constitutional States.

The alliance soon numbered four hundred members, and before a year had passed it possessed a membership of sixteen hundred,—nobles as well as prominent burghers. Much was expected from this covenant; but the only important act, before dissolution, was the presentation to the regent Margaret of Parma of a remonstrance against the arbitrary measures of the government, and the accidental furnishing of a rallying and battle-cry to the patriot forces.

On April 5th, 1566, three hundred splendidly attired but unarmed nobles went in procession to the Court of Brabant at Brussels, where the Regent resided. Here the head of the covenant, Count Hendrik Van Brederode, presented to Margaret a petition in which the popular grievances had been set forth, at the same time praying for redress. The regent, upon seeing so imposing a body of nobles united against the measures of the government, appeared to be afraid, but the Count of Barlaymont, one of her courtiers, endeavored to allay her fears by whispering in her ear: "Do not be afraid, madam; it is only a pack of beggars." This whisper was understood by Brederode.

The following evening a banquet of the nobles was given at the ancient Court of Gaasbeeck, then the palace of Floris Van Palland, Count of Culemborgh. Brederode told them of the nickname applied to them the day before. He advised his companions of the banquet-hall to adopt the opprobrious appellation as a distinct party-name. His suggestion

was adopted, and the banquet-hall immediately reverberated with enthusiastic cries of "Long live the Beggars!"

From that time it became the rallying call and the battle-cry of the opponents of Spanish domination and absolutism in the Netherlands. "Vivent les Gueux, Leve de Geuzen, Long live the Beggars!" soon resounded from one end of the land to the other, from the dykes of Friesland and Groningen to the hills and forests of Hainault and Flanders; from the eastern shores of the North Sea to the distant coasts of Biscay, and far into the Atlantic Ocean. Nor did it die entirely away till after eighty years of fearful struggle and carnage the Dutch people had established for themselves a position among the nations, and the Dutch Republic took rank as a World Power.

While Margaret of Parma was yet Regent of the Netherlands, the opposition against Spanish absolutism had taken shape in the refusal of Valenciennes to admit a royal garrison. And for this offense against the king's government the city, in the month of December, 1566, was invested by Noircarmes. On March 24th, 1567, the unfortunate town was obliged to yield, and the cruel supporter of the divine right of kings, in direct violation of the conditions of surrender, ordered the larger part of the inhabitants to be executed. This perfidy was only the prelude to what was to follow under the administration of the Duke of Alba.

Hendrik Van Brederode, a lineal descendant of the first Count of Holland, who possessed a more divine right to rule the country than did the Spanish King, now began to fortify his castles at Ameide and Vianen. For this purpose William the Silent sent him three pieces of artillery, and here the partisans of liberty began to congregate and to arm. His example was speedily followed by many other nobles. To be prepared for coming events, Brederode secretly en-

listed a small army of three thousand men, the partisans of freedom and progress in the country sending him provisions and ammunitions.

The regent now ordered Brederode to surrender unconditionally to the regal authority. As answer to the summons, he openly took up arms; and, in February, 1567, he threw troops into 's Hertogenbosch (Bois le Duc). His troops, however, were forced to evacuate the city during the following month of April. He next made an attempt against Utrecht, but it miscarried.

Lack of means now forced him to disband his army, portions of which continued for a long time to infest the open country of the provinces of Utrecht, Holland, and Gelderland. Brederode himself went to Amsterdam, where the friends of freedom had revolted. For a few weeks he succeeded in rendering their cause victorious within the walls of the principal city of Northern Netherland. But it lasted only a little while. The principal partisans of liberty at Amsterdam, discouraged by the terrible defeat of Jan Van Marnix at Oosterweel, and, fearful of a fate similar to that of Valenciennes, requested permission of the authorities to sell their possessions and quit the country. This permission was granted on April 26th, 1567, and now began a general flight. Thousands quitted the country; among them, on April 27th, Count Hendrik Van Brederode. On February 15th, 1568, this brilliant and ardent patriot died at the castle of Harmhof, in Germany, a poor exile from the country that he had so valiantly endeavored to set free. The time had not yet come.

At the same time that Brederode surprised 's Hertogenbosch, an attempt also was made to gain a foothold for the partisans of liberty in the city of Middelburg, situated on the Island of Walcheren, in the province of Zeeland. Pieter

Haeck, ex-bailiff of Middelburg, had equipped three vessels in the neighborhood of Antwerp. Jan Dingmans, a navigator of Tholen, had been entrusted with the command of the ships, while the troops on board were officered by Jan Van Marnix, Lord of Tholouse, Jan Van Blois Van Treslong, and Wessel Van Boetselaar. Many influential residents of Walcheren knew of it, and favored the attempt.

In the second half of February, 1567, the expedition descended the river Scheldt, and appeared before Rammekens, a fortress on the Island of Walcheren. But the Spanish commander had been informed of the project, and was alert. Nothing could be hopefully undertaken against this stronghold; and the brave little squadron now proceeded to Arnemuiden, at that time the outer harbor of Middelburg. Here also they were unable to force an entrance; they were obliged to ascend the Scheldt, and return to their starting-point. Van Marnix disembarked his troops at Oosterweel, at some distance from Antwerp, while Haeck and Dingmans probably went to sea with the ships, and may have been the forerunners of the Sea Beggars.

While encamped at Oosterweel, Van Marnix's forces, greatly augmented by continual additions of discontented people, lived exclusively upon the surrounding country. But as soon as the regent had been apprised of Van Marnix's whereabouts, she despatched the Lord of Beauvais, an ardent royalist, with eleven hundred regulars, against the undisciplined band of insurgents. Hardly any watch was kept in the scattered encampments of the revolutionists, and on March 13th, 1567, Beauvais easily surprised and totally defeated them. Van Marnix and Van Boetzelaer were killed in the onslaught. Blois Van Treslong was captured, and on June 1st, 1568, expiated his crime of patriotism on the scaffold at Brussels. Fifteen hundred of the insurgents

lost their lives during the battle. Of the three hundred survivors, the major part were captured and executed. Only a few were fortunate enough to escape and to join the ranks of the Savage, or Forest, Beggars, who, at that time, roamed throughout the forests and marshes of Southern Netherland.

These failures, and the expatriation of thousands of patriots, struck terror into the hearts of the people, and every open opposition to governmental arbitrariness ceased. For the time, royal despotism held supreme sway in the country, its representatives trampling underfoot the liberties of an entire nation.

These successes, and the report that a Spanish army, under the Duke of Alba, was ready to depart for the Netherlands, not only ruptured what had been left of the confederation of the nobles, but also induced Prince William the Silent, on April 22nd, 1567, to take refuge in his German dominions, and to abandon for a while the project of delivering the Netherland people from the yoke of Spain.

His example was followed by many thousands of others: nobles, prominent burghers, skilled artisans. Large numbers of people that possessed neither the means to pay for their passage nor boasted wealthy friends to assist them out of the country, congregated in the woods and among the mountains of the Southern country, and under the appellation of *Wilde Geuzen*, or Savage Beggars, wreaked terrible vengeance upon some of the authors of their misfortune. The number of fugitives was so large that there were not enough ships at Amsterdam to convey them to the hospitable port of Emden, in the county of East Friesland. Many cloth-weavers, especially from the southern provinces, sought refuge in England.

On August 22nd, 1567, Alba entered the capital of Brussels, at the head of more than twenty thousand Spanish troops.

The incipient rebellion had been crushed; the heads of the revolt had submitted or sought refuge in foreign lands. An entire nation lay prostrate at the feet of the representative of regal power. And now the punishments began. For this purpose the new governor-general instituted the Council of Troubles. Owing to its cruel and arbitrary sentences, it soon became known by the popular appellation, Council of Blood.

Not only those who had committed an overt act of disobedience against the royal will were punished, but even the signers of simple petitions against governmental measures were sentenced to banishment, imprisonment, confiscation of their property, and cruel death. And when, on February 26th, 1568, Philip II. had ratified the sentence of the Spanish Inquisition, which condemned to death every Netherlander, with a few unnamed exceptions, the bloodthirsty Alba had free play; he was at liberty to act as he pleased with a people he detested.

Now a reign of terror began, its counterpart unparalleled in the annals of history. For six long and terrible years the executioner's sword and the hangman's rope were in action, disposing of the victims of Alba's tyranny and greed, the stake and the waters of the country supplying additional means for ridding the alien of troublesome or wealthy subjects. The entire country resembled a huge slaughter-house of human beings. Now was the time that a popular Netherland poet sings of:

"And Netherland's soft soil throbbed 'neath the weight of woe."

To escape from the fury of the human Spanish blood-hounds, tens of thousands more left the country, and found refuge in the maritime cities of England and Northern Germany, in the towns along the Rhine, or joined the hordes of French, Danish, Scottish, and English freebooters that in-

fested these northern seas and the coasts of the Atlantic. Commerce and industry had been prostrated ; cities formerly prosperous now became the abode of poverty, and presented the picture of decay. The amount of taxes to be paid, however, kept on increasing. Although Alba despised the people, he entertained the most extravagant ideas of the country's riches.

In their extremity the eyes of the entire people now turned in the direction of Germany, where the princely exile, William the Silent, was doing all he could to succor the distracted Netherlanders. Assisted by his four brothers and several other kinsmen and friends, he equipped an army to expel the Spaniards from the country.

The first pitched battle of the eighty years' war occurred on April 25th, 1568, at Daelhem in Southern Netherland, resulting in the total rout of the patriot forces. Count Louis, a brother of William, had at first been more fortunate. On May 23rd, 1568, he conquered the Spaniards at Heiligerlee, in the province of Groningen, but on July 21st he was in turn defeated by Alba, near Jemgum, in East Friesland.

William himself, with an army of twenty-one thousand soldiers, on October 7th, 1568, suddenly crossed the river Maas near Maastricht, for the purpose of invading the country, and delivering it from Spanish oppression. He hoped for assistance, in money and men, from the Netherland people; but the fear of the Spaniards prevented any open espousal of the cause. Not indeed until the prince had attained some important success would the people dare to declare themselves.

Alba, with an army of twenty-eight thousand veteran soldiers, strongly intrenched himself near the prince's camp, and, without offering or accepting battle, continually followed William's army wherever it went. Knowing that the prince

would soon be forced to disband his hireling troops, because of lack of means to pay them, the wily Spaniard always succeeded in evading a decisive encounter. Twenty-nine times the prince changed his position to tempt Alba to give him battle. Twenty-nine times Alba followed him up, intrenching himself so strongly that each time William was unable to attack him successfully. But on December 4th, 1568, the prince was obliged at last to evacuate the country. He marched upon Strassburg and there disbanded his army, sold his artillery to pay his soldiers in part, and returned to his German dominions.

Again the attempt to liberate the Netherlands had failed. The Spanish King was now the absolute master of a proud and liberty-loving people. It was at this time that Alba had his statue made from the cannon conquered at Jemgum, and which, in 1571, he erected in the fortress of Antwerp. Had he but shown clemency, and practised liberality in his dealings with the people, the Netherlands might have been saved for many years more to the Spanish King, while, at the same time, the course of events in Europe would have been totally different. Fortunately for the world, however, the tyrant knew not how nor cared to gain the good-will of a nation whom he had at his mercy, yet whose spirit he had not conquered.

Persecution, condemnation, confiscation and cruel execution again became the order of the day. The Duke of Alba, through his oppression, estranged still more the hearts of the people from a king who had thus dared to permit his servants to trample upon their holiest convictions and most cherished rights. But however tyrannical, unjust, and cruel the duke might be, his rage had, as yet, been directed only against individuals, although at the close of his six years' rule he had had executed more than forty thousand victims.

Soon after his successes in the field, this governor-general began to enact measures that touched the whole nation, friends and foes alike of his government. In the year 1569, two years after his arrival in the country,—one year after his success against the prince and his brother Louis,—Alba resolved to render himself independent of the States-General, the representatives of the people.

It was customary with the sovereign of each province to request annually the States of every province to grant him the yearly taxes called *beden*. This custom, denoting the dependence of the sovereign upon the people, did not suit Alba. With his extravagant notions about royal prerogative and the divine right of kings, he deemed it beneath the king's dignity to run the risk of being refused, especially since the States, when granting the annual *beden*, almost invariably made the grants the excuse for demanding new privileges and exemptions.

Alba, therefore, and for the purpose of drawing more money from the country, demanded, for once, the hundredth penny, or one per cent. of every one's possessions, the twentieth penny of all real estate, and the tenth penny of all personal estate, whenever sold. Every man rose in arms against this system of taxation, especially against the twentieth and the tenth penny, which, combined, was denominated "the tenth penny." The hundredth penny was generally paid, but the tenth penny was as generally refused, because, it was said, it would ruin the country's commerce and industries.

In some of the provinces the detested tax was bought off for two years, upon the payment of large amounts of money. The city of Utrecht, the center of opposition against this imposition, constantly appealed to its written charters and exemptions, in the manful stand it maintained against the

payment of the illegal taxes. But the tyrant stationed a strong garrison at Utrecht, at the expense of the city, and caused all its written evidences of privileges to be forwarded to the Vredenburg,—the fortress dominating the city. Still the opposition did not cease, and heavier punishment was contemplated.

At the beginning of 1572 the period of exemption—granted to some of the provinces—expired. The duke again made ready to enforce his decrees regarding the tax. The business men and shopkeepers of every kind preferred closing their stores and places of business rather than submit. In several towns real want existed, as nobody was disposed to sell, not even under compulsion. Alba resolved, by the most vigorous measures, to put a stop to the opposition. It was rumored that at Brussels, the capital of the country, Alba had, without any process of law, ordered seventeen of the recalcitrants to be hanged in their own doorways—for daring to refuse payment of the tax, and keeping their stores closed.

Fortunately, however, the capture of the city of Briel by the Sea Beggars, on April 1st, 1572, suddenly arrested the oppressor's plans, and not only saved his intended victims an untimely and a cruel death, and the country an unconstitutional tax, but caused Spain's King the loss of one of the brightest jewels in his crown.

Part I.

The Sea Beggars as Freebooters.

The Sea Beggars.

Chapter One.

Their Origin and First Appearance.

SPANISH tyranny had driven more than one hundred thousand of the most intelligent and progressive of the Netherland people into exile. Thousands—the English historian Froude says twenty thousand—had taken up their abode in the maritime cities of England—in London, Sandwich, Colchester, Norwich, Ipswich, Harwich, Lynn, and Maidstone. These Netherland exiles greatly benefited the English industries, especially the woolen industry at Norwich, Sandwich, and Colchester ; so much so, in fact, that the complaint was made that the seat of this industry would soon be entirely removed from Flanders and Brabant to England.

Tens of thousands had received a hearty welcome among their nearest kin in Germany ; where—especially in the seaboard cities—because of a common origin, the language and customs closely resembled those of the Netherlands. Emden, Wesel, Cleves, Bremen, Aix la Chapelle, Hamburg, Lubeck, Heidelberg, Frankenthal, Konigsberg, Cologne, Dillenburg sheltered the larger part of the exiles, while many other German cities on the Rhine, the Ems, the Elbe, and the Weser, as well as those near the boundaries, had extended

a most hearty welcome to those unfortunate fugitives from royal absolutism, intolerance, and fanaticism.

In the spring of 1566, just after the petition of the confederated nobles, the report circulated that the Spanish authorities intended to follow a more moderate and conciliatory policy toward the Netherland subjects of the king. This report induced many to return to their native land. But the renewal of the oppressive measures in the fall of the same year again forced other thousands to seek safety in flight. The stream of Netherland exiles during the earlier years of Alba's bloody reign constantly increased, until the fortunate events of 1572 again opened to them the gates of their own country.

Then, perhaps, the larger portion of the exiles could return to stay.

But the dread of Alba and his terrible Council of Blood had been so great, that—to cite but a single instance—in the winter of 1570—three years after his arrival in the country—three hundred and fifty men and women, besides children, left the moderately large city of Enkhuizen, in the province of North Holland, and, over the frozen waters of the sea, at the peril of their lives, sought safety within the hospitable walls of Emden, several miles distant.

Besides those that had thus found safety from their alien executioners among strangers in foreign lands, many hundreds had taken to the sea. A large part of the Netherland refugees came from the seaboard cities. Thousands had been connected with the sea or a sea-faring life, either as ship-owners, merchants, captains, common sailors, fishermen, or skippers upon the inland waters. Hundreds of these were not satisfied to settle peaceably in more hospitable lands, and await there the course of events in their oppressed fatherland. Many, in reality, had suffered too much to

settle quietly down in life. They wanted the excitement and engrossment of action ; they wanted to avenge themselves upon the oppressors of their country, the destroyers of their peace and happiness. Some, in imitation of many lawless examples of those days, had already become sea-rovers. Others had banded themselves after the futile attempts of the Nassau brothers, in 1568, to liberate the country. Others again were the miserable remnants of the Savage, or Forest, Beggars of Southern Netherland, who had escaped the sword, the fagot, and the gallows,—the fate of most of their companions. Nearly all were desperate, remorseless, cruel, unscrupulous at times, but not so much from choice as from necessity.

An alien oppressor had devastated their country, destroyed their homes, despoiled them of their livelihood, and forced them to a life of lawlessness. Hardly a single one was left among them that did not mourn the loss of one or of both parents, wife, child, or other near relative, or dear friends murdered or cruelly maltreated and mutilated by the willing tools of royal despotism. Many among them carried upon their own bodies the marks of the displeasure of the foreign king's satellites. Some had become disfigured for life by the loss of an eye, of a nose and ears, an arm or leg, of toes or fingers, for daring to hold and express opinions not approved by the representatives of an absolutist king.

All were men without a country, outlawed by the blind instruments of a foreign potentate, who had endeavored by all possible means to make his royal will law in a country of constitutional liberties. Revenge was their motive, privateering their object; while necessity often drove them to piracy. They ended their career by becoming the co-founders of one of the most illustrious republics of modern times. In history they are known as the Sea Beggars, that

unique aggregation of freebooters and avengers whose like never before nor since has been viewed upon the scene of the world's events.

"Since the noble blood of the Counts of Egmont and Hoorn has flowed on the scaffold, all the victims of the Duke of Alba's tyranny"—thus say the Beggars—"demand terrible obsequies. The ghosts of the gallant D'Andelot, of the unfortunate Van Straelen, of the heroic sons of Batenburg, of the thousands of other judicial murders, of those assassinated in cold blood at Valenciennes, all call for blood! Therefore war! A war of extermination, a war without mercy. The revolt takes up the glove that has been thrown at it!"

They did not receive the appellation of Sea Beggars, however, until more than two years after their first recorded appearance on the sea. The Spanish authorities continued to style them pirates, while among the Netherland people of the day they were known as *Geuzen*, or Beggars, a name applied to all Netherlanders opposed to Spanish tyranny, whether fighting on land or at sea, or sojourning in foreign countries. Only after those sea-faring Beggars had been somewhat better organized did it become absolutely necessary to distinguish them from those partisans of liberty remaining on land or fighting their country's battles in the field. Accordingly the designation *Water Geuzen*, *Zee Geuzen*, or Sea Beggars was generally applied to them.

When Count Hendrik Van Brederode, the head of the famous "Compromis", or Covenant of the Nobles, on June 2nd, 1566, closed his letter to Count Louis of Nassau, with a "Vyve les Geus par mer et par terre"—Long life to the Beggars on sea and on land—he probably was somewhat ahead of the times. And though the future admiral of the Sea Beggars, Dolhain, was even then known

as an ardent patriot and a defender of the cause of his country against Spanish absolutism, and took a prominent part in the meetings of the nobles held that year at Breda and Hoogstraten, still it is doubtful whether any fugitive Netherlander had yet thought of the sea as a distinct means of avenging his country's wrongs.

Haeck's and Dingmans' crews, no longer safe in the country after their vain attempt against Middelburg and the Island of Walcheren in the early part of 1567, may have become sea-rovers, but, if so, history keeps silent about it. Besides, this attempt did not occur until more than six months after Brederode's exclamation.

It is more probable that the Sea Beggars originated among the Frisians, who, burning with the desire to shake off the Spanish yoke, were kept in the closest submission by the able and energetic Caspar De Robles, the Portuguese commander of the Spanish forces in the provinces of Friesland and Groningen. Large numbers of Frisians, among them many nobles, had left the province, some going to Emden, others joining Brederode at Amsterdam. After Brederode and his followers had been forced to leave Amsterdam in August, 1567, several of them—Beima, Galama, and many others—had been captured, imprisoned, or executed. Many Frisians, despairing of the future of their country, and no longer finding safety there, took to the sea, practically beginning a life of piracy.

Their rendezvous was made at Emden, where most of the chiefs of the freebooters took up their headquarters at the inn, "The Golden Fountain," hence, afterward called "The Beggars' Inn." Before long the Beggars became so redoubtable that the government took the precaution to have swivel guns placed upon several towers, and upon the South gate at Briel, in the province of South Holland. The

authorities even were obliged, at the same time, to equip a few warships to protect the fishermen, and prevent an *invasion by the pirates.* Thus early in their career do the exiles appear to have conceived the idea of freeing their country by assaults from the sea. Perhaps the recent arrival of the dreaded Alba had something to do with this rumored invasion by the *pirates.*

Soon after their first recorded appearance upon the sea, the Netherland freebooters became bolder, and began to extend their operations somewhat farther than the coasts of Friesland and Holland. On February 9th, 1568, the States of Holland, in their salutation to Alba, pointed out to him the danger of an increase of piracy on the North Sea, "because large numbers of people, many of whom had made a living by navigation, had now been disturbed." As early as June, 1568, the Netherland freebooters appeared in the English Channel in quest of booty, and the Acts of the Privy Council refer to them as "Flemish" freebooters, a name in those days that generally included in England all Netherlanders.

Instead of the traditional black flag of the pirates, however, the early Sea Beggars flew a white flag with a red cross in the center, indicative of the unmerited distress that had forced them to their present mode of living. Under this ensign, in May of this same year, 1568, Jan Abels and Jan Broeck, two of the boldest and most dreaded Sea Beggars, with two well-manned and adequately equipped vessels, rendered the Wadden—to the north of Friesland and Groningen—unsafe for any ships friendly to Spain.

Jan Abels, a native of the little Frisian city of Dockum, had the well-earned reputation of being a bold and an able sailor. On this account he had, on April 5th, 1558, been appointed by the Burgomasters and the Councilors of the city of

Groningen "as captain and chief, with his soldiers and crew, to pursue and destroy our enemies"—the pirates. His brother, Tamme Abels, also known as a prominent Sea Beggar, had, on April 28th, 1557, also been commissioned by the same authorities to protect their commerce with Bremen and Hamburg against the depredations of the pirates. A third of the Abels brothers, Foeke, had also embraced the cause of his country's freedom, and had early joined the ranks of the Sea Beggars.

It appears that the Duke of Alba, soon after their appearance, began to fear the damage that the Frisian Sea Beggars might inflict upon the commerce of his king's faithful subjects. In April, 1568, he commanded the authorities of the city of Medenblik, in the province of North Holland, to guard against an attack from the side of Friesland. A month later, on May 6th, after Count Louis of Nassau's invasion of Groningen and his occupation of the castle of Wedde, Count Bossu, the Spanish stadholder of Holland, renewed the command. At the same time, he informed the villages of the district of Waterland of the danger of a possible invasion from the direction of Emden, saying: "We have learned that those congregating about Emden and Wedde are equipping and arming some vessels, and [warn you] to be prepared, so that they shall not be able to invade any of his Majesty's towns."

In the spring of 1568, the first great effort was to be made by the Nassaus for the liberation of the country. For this purpose Count Louis of Nassau, on April 6th of this year, was commissioned by his brother, William the Silent, the leader of the revolt in the Netherlands, to levy troops and equip an army. With it the intrepid Louis was to invade the country from the north, while his brother William and other leaders would later do the same in the south, and in the center.

William the Silent, as well as his four brothers, John, Louis, Henry, and Adolph, had sold or pawned everything they possessed for the sake of raising money. Secret friends of the cause in the Netherlands, as well as the exiles in Germany and in England, had contributed liberally; accordingly, much was expected from the equipment that now could take place. Louis went to East Friesland; the county being not only contiguous to the part he intended to invade, but its rulers and people were favorable to the cause of Netherland liberty, and where the large number of Netherland exiles assured him of the most hearty support.

Nor did the Netherland exiles in England shirk their duty in this matter. As soon as it became known, through the agents sent by the prince to collect money for the cause, what their leaders intended to do, large contributions were cheerfully made. In the spring of 1568, a number of vessels were equipped by the friends of the cause, principally in the harbor of Sandwich, to assist in the attempt, and were manned by fifteen hundred Netherland exiles and English auxiliaries. In anticipation of coming events, several of these vessels immediately left the English harbors, and began to plunder on the coasts of Flanders. The Spanish ambassador, however, promptly protested against this violation of English neutrality, and in May, 1568, the government of Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation prohibiting the intended expedition from English ports. This proclamation, however, had little result, because most of the expedition had fortunately departed; later several vessels were able secretly to join their associates. Count Louis' defeat at Jemgum, and the failure of the other intended invasions, rendered this equipment useless, though several ships and portions of their crews doubtlessly joined the fleet of the Sea Beggars.

On the eve of the above-named invasion, Count Louis,

with a number of his followers, had gone to the East Frisian city of Leer, where he received, from his sympathizers at Emden, six red and white flags, with a red cross upon each, to serve as standards for the army he was about to lead against the enemy. On these banners he had inscribed the bold Latin devices: *Nunc aut Nunquam*—now or never; and, *Recuperare aut Mori*—regain or die. Large numbers of exiles now joined Louis' army, among them several Frisian and Groninger nobles, as Bartold Entens Van Mentheda, Homme Van Hettinga, with his two sons, Duco and Taco, Sjuck Van Eminga, Pibo Van Harda, Tjalling Van Eysinga, Hessel Van Oosthem, Jelte Eelsma, Gabbe Selsma, Wilco Holdinga, Erasmus Douma, Hero Hottinga, Douwe Glins, Wybe Sjoerds, and Jan Van Bonga, who paid most of the Frisians serving in Louis' army. The Frisian lawyer, Johannes Basius, later one of the most trusted and useful agents of William the Silent, also joined the forces; and several others; many of them later were enrolled in the ranks of the Sea Beggars.

On April 24th, 1568, Count Louis took possession of the castle of Wedde, in the province of Groningen. The report of this success of the patriot forces was followed up by the rumor that the redoubtable Sea Beggars were about to invade the province of Friesland by way of the Dockumer Deep. Alba was immediately informed of this threatened danger, while the Spanish stadholder of Friesland at once despatched a force of two hundred soldiers to Colmerzyl, at the entrance of the deep, there stationing them behind the dykes and in the redoubt, for the purpose of preventing the expected landing of the Sea Beggars. The latter, however, failed to put in an appearance. They were too busy assisting Count Louis and his army of liberation. Jan Abels, for instance, was—with two or three vessels, each manned with forty sailors—con-

stantly cruising before Delfzyl, in order to prevent provisions from reaching the city of Groningen ; this important stronghold Count Louis intended to wrest from the clutches of the Spaniards. At the same time, Abels was to prevent the Spanish ships from cutting off supplies for Louis' army. For this purpose some large Beggar ships had been stationed near the mouth of the river Ems.

François Van Boshuizen, a Netherlander who had remained loyal to the cause of Spain, and who had been appointed commander of the Duke of Alba's navy, had, in the month of May, arrived with eight Spanish warships before the mouth of the Ems, with the intention of harassing the patriot forces. Boshuizen had even succeeded in preventing supplies and ammunition from reaching Count Louis' army by way of the sea, so that, at times, there existed actual scarcity among his forces. Thereupon, on July 1st, 1568, the count commissioned Yonker Diedrick Sonoy, a German nobleman and ardent partisan of the cause of William the Silent, and Hendrick Thomasz, to attack the enemy's ships, promising them all the booty they should capture if they would only deliver to Count Louis the heavy ordnance, of which he was greatly in need.

After gathering together as many Beggar ships as they could unite for the purpose, Sonoy and his associates, on July 17th, 1568, went to meet the enemy. Boshuizen, perceiving their approach, did not await their arrival, but hoisted sail, for the purpose of meeting them, expecting to be able easily to rout or sink the small Beggar ships by means of his heavy ordnance. The Sea Beggars, however, nothing daunted, continued to approach, with the apparent intention of boarding the enemy's vessels. As soon as Boshuizen perceived their object, he turned about and sought safety, or perhaps a more favorable battle-ground, by a precipitate

retreat into the open sea. At first he was closely pursued by the Beggars; the elements, however, bore heavily against their smaller vessels, and soon prevented the pursuers from following up their advantage. They were obliged to cast anchor under lee of the land, and here they awaited the dawn of the following morning. Even then wind and waves were unfavorable, the larger part of the fleet refused to proceed. Only Sonoy and Gerrit Sebastiaansz Van Gorkum weighed anchor and, followed a little later by a few of the others, went in pursuit of the enemy. Their expedition resulted in their capturing four large Spanish ships and two "hulken," with which they returned and anchored in full view of Delfzyl, as if to taunt the enemy with the spoils of their victory over his armada.

Louis of Nassau, in the meanwhile, had broken up the siege of the city of Groningen, which he had invested after his victory at Heiligerlee, on May 23rd, 1568. After having taken up several positions, he intrenched himself at last at Jemgum on the river Ems. Here Louis awaited the arrival of the Duke of Alba, who immediately after receiving information of the defeat of his forces at Heiligerlee, had hastened from Brussels to avenge the disgrace of the Spanish arms.

At Jemgum the freebooters again rendered the most valuable services to the cause of Netherland liberty. Their larger vessels could not approach close enough to the banks of the river where Louis' army was encamped. Those large ships had been left at Emden, whose drost, or warden, Unico Manninga, had sent the Netherland nobleman, Willem Van Zuylen, to Sonoy with the offer to take care of and protect the Beggar ships at Emden while the Beggars should be engaged with the enemy on the river. The drost evidently expected the patriots again to be victorious. After the battle had been lost, fear of the triumphant Spanish army influ-

enced the drost to such a degree that he even arrested Sonoy and several of his captains, threatening them with imprisonment for having violated East Friesland's neutrality. When the drost perceived that the Spaniards did not entertain any direct design against Emden he immediately discharged the Beggar chiefs. But their booty and prizes, as well as the ransom paid to them by several captains of merchantmen, were confiscated, with the excuse that the Beggar ships had caused damage to the buoys, and losses to the caretaker of the buoys and beacons of Rottemerland, an island-dependency of East Friesland.

Only the lighter vessels, under the command of Jan Broeck and Ellert Vliechop, could be made use of to keep open the communication between the two banks of the Ems, conveying provisions and other necessaries for the army. Jan Broeck had been appointed commissary of provisions (quartermaster) by Louis, and in this capacity was despatched to Emden, for the purpose of inquiring whether it would not be better to have the flour sent directly to the encampment, instead of having it baked into biscuits at Emden.

The disastrous defeat at Jemgum, on July 21st, 1568, of Louis' mutinous troops, which, for the larger part, consisted of foreign mercenaries, put a stop to any further efforts to free the northern provinces from the land side. Several thousands of Louis' insubordinate soldiers found a quick death by the steel or the bullets of the Spaniards or in the waters of the Ems. Many more would have lost their lives had not the crews in the Beggar boats been at hand to pick up the fugitives, and, at the imminent risk of their own lives, convey them safely to the opposite bank. Count Louis himself escaped with his life only through the timely assistance of the boats of his Beggar friends.

After this terrible disaster at Jemgum the forces of the Sea Beggars were very much strengthened by the Frisian and Groninger partisans of liberty that had been fortunate enough to escape. Their numbers were further increased by other prominent Netherlanders, who, for some reason or other, felt that they were no longer safe in the country, and therefore decided to cast in their lot with the Beggars. From this time on the guerilla-war at sea assumed a more settled and determined character. And in the fall of 1568, after the futile efforts of Prince William the Silent himself to dislodge Alba from the south, the friends of liberty in the provinces, as well as those abroad, began to despair of deliverance coming from the direction of the land. They now began to center their hopes upon the outlawed sea-rovers, infesting the coasts and waters of their oppressed country.

The last unsuccessful effort at liberation of this year 1568, not only sent many commoners to the fleet of the Beggars, but also forced a large number of Netherland nobles to join the ranks of those freebooters. Many among them, after having sacrificed their all for their country's cause, had served as officers in the armies of both Louis and William. With the failures of those armies their occupations, as well as their fortunes, were gone.

Some of these ruined nobles entered the military or the diplomatic service of foreign powers; the larger part, however, bought, or were provided with, vessels, and united with the Sea Beggars. This explains why so large a proportion of Beggar ships was commanded and officered by nobles that had had no previous experience of the sea. Other nobles had joined the fleet in subordinate positions, and, as reward for their courage and ability, had been gradually promoted by their captains. Later they had been intrusted with the

command of prizes that were deemed too serviceable to the fleet to be disposed of in the usual way.

Alba, however, no more dreaded the Sea Beggars or their influence on the people than he feared the noiseless activity, directed by William the Silent, from the distant castle of Dillenburg, in the German county of Nassau. Neither a statesman nor a philosophic student of human character and political affairs, Alba did not, as they would have done, take into account every successive revelation of the popular mind. He was merely an able and successful general, accustomed to be obeyed implicitly by his well-disciplined soldiers, and now that his army had gained easy victories over poorly equipped, and worse disciplined, hireling soldiers ; now that the people had apparently submitted to the inevitable, the haughty Spaniard thought not only that he could do with them as he pleased, but had the audacity to believe that the time was ripe to petition the king for his recall. He had done his duty in quelling the rebellion and in preserving the provinces to his sovereign, others could now rule them. Consequently, on August 22nd, 1568, he wrote to Madrid that " it was not possible for him to stay in a country where the climate was so unfavorable to his health, or to endure any longer the fatigues of government. The state of his health caused him much uneasiness ; as to the cold and the dampness, they killed him."

Philip, however, would not consent to Alba's departure ; he could not, he thought, afford to dispense with the services of the man in a country that had been preserved to the Crown by that man's own efforts.

Notwithstanding the fact that everything was still apparently quiet in the country, and only the despised Sea Beggars continued their locally-injurious but seemingly-unimportant activity, the duke at Madrid, on May 5th, 1570, renewed his

efforts to be recalled. Perhaps he began to perceive that all was not as quiet as it appeared on the surface, or he may have desired to quit the country and be away before the popular discontent showed itself by a fresh outbreak, and thus release himself from blame. But the Spanish King did not yet see his way clear to permit the departure of the governor-general, who, by the aid of an army of thirty thousand Spanish soldiers, had evidently succeeded in crushing the spirit of a proud, liberty-loving people, and in forcing them to submit to Spanish absolutism. The king promised Alba to select a successor, but requested the duke to continue in his government, until, in course of time, said successor should arrive. Nearly two years afterward, when the bold stroke of a small band of outlawed freebooters had again fanned the smoldering embers of popular opposition into a conflagration, and the whole country had arisen against the tyrant, the successor arrived.

The Beggars, encouraged by the inactivity of the Spanish authorities, and the apparent inability of Alba and his officials permanently to suppress them, became bolder with every easy success. The new Spanish ambassador to the court of St. James, Don Gueran De Spes, who, in September, 1568, arrived in England, soon complained earnestly about the damage caused to the ships and commerce of his Majesty's faithful Netherlanders by the freebooters, openly favored and assisted as they were by the people and the authorities of the English Channel ports.

With the augmenting of their numbers, and emboldened by the fear that the mere mention of their name began to cause among the people, the Sea Beggars now ventured away from the coasts, and began to extend their raids far into the interior of the country. In October, 1568, a force of Frisian Sea Beggars invaded the district of Waterland in

the province of North Holland and there united with a body of Waterland patriots, endeavoring to wrest that section of the country from the grasp of the Spaniards. The allies, however, were defeated by Holland's stadholder, Count Bossu, while several of their number were captured and executed, and the effort at liberation was thus again smothered in the blood of the patriots. It was evident that the people waited only for a favorable opportunity to declare themselves. The expectancy of future deliverance was kept in the hearts of their countrymen by the Beggars of the Sea. "From the dunes and dykes of Holland and Friesland the people could see the flags floating from the topmasts of the Beggar ships, and the roar of their cannon informed their compatriots that liberty was near; they could expect it at any moment." As long as those lawless sea-rovers had not been exterminated; as long as William the Silent had not been rendered inactive; as long as the people were ever ready to assist in any promising project at liberation, the Netherlanders could not be said to be subjugated. Every cruel or tyrannical act of Alba and his satellites served only to hasten the day of final settlement, by augmenting the number and embittering the spirit of the sea-roving exiles, thereby rendering them more determined in the resolve to throw off the yoke.

Because of the boldness of operation by the Sea Beggars, the seaboard cities in the northern quarter of the province of North Holland were ordered to equip war-vessels against the freebooters, and to improve their defenses. In consequence, the city of Hoorn, on October 21st, 1568, was not only obliged, at its own expense, to furnish two men of war,—one of which, because of her size and strength, was named the Samson,—but was also compelled considerably to strengthen its defenses on the side of the Zuiderzee. Alba had been

informed of the depredations of the Sea Beggars, but he was either powerless or was too little inclined to proceed against them, for he wrote to the States of the province of Friesland to guard their coasts and harbors themselves. A few ships, consequently, were equipped at Dockum. But the whole armament was so insignificant, that nothing of any importance could be undertaken against the freebooters. In plain view even of the government vessels they did not hesitate to attack and capture merchantmen. All that the government ships were able to do, was to guard the coasts of Friesland, and abandon the sea to the Beggars. At the approach of winter the Beggars temporarily suspended operations, sought the friendly waters of the Ems and the hospitality of the city of Emden, where they lavishly spent the proceeds from their plunder of the preceding summer. From February till August, 1569, seven of their vessels constantly harbored at Great Siel, a small city with a castle on the Ems, where their numerous crews royally spent the money they had acquired after every successful raid. The government vessels were only too glad to be permitted to winter in the harbor of Dockum, the ice and the gales of the wintry season, for the time being, proving a much better protection against the Sea Beggars than their own too feeble naval equipments.

As soon, however, as the ice had melted, and the coast was again clear, the Beggars left their friendly shelter at Emden, and boldly resumed depredations. Stronger in numbers, and more determined than ever in the spring—1569—to avenge the wrongs of their native land, and cause damage to its oppressor and his friends, the Sea Beggars no longer limited their operations exclusively or principally to the coasts and waters of the Netherlands. In a short time the whole of the North Sea, the Channel, and parts of the

Atlantic Ocean extending to the Gulf of Biscay, became the habitual scene of the activity of the Netherland sea-rovers; with the French and English freebooters they continually chased the richly-laden merchantmen leaving or destined for Spanish ports.

As early as January, 1569, both the French and the Spanish ambassadors complained of the increase of French, English, and Flemish pirates in the English Channel, congregated mostly about the Isle of Wight; there the people were favorable to them, and there they found a ready market for most of their booty, as well as a convenient haven for the equipment and repairing of their vessels.

About Christmas of the year 1568, the government of Queen Elizabeth had confiscated a large amount of money, lent to Philip of Spain by a Genoa banking house. This money was destined to pay Alba's troops in the Netherlands; but all the negotiations for the return of the money to its rightful owner proved fruitless. Under one pretext or another the English government constantly evaded the release of the treasure. Sometimes Queen Elizabeth's ministers replied to the remonstrances of the Spanish ambassador, that they intended to guard the money, fearing the pirates, who would be watching for it if conveyed by ship. At another time the ambassador heard that the queen intended to keep the money as an indemnity for the Spanish attack on Hawkins' richly-loaded privateers, despatched by the government the preceding spring with a mission to the West Indies. At last, the English government broke off every negotiation regarding the treasure; they answering that they retained the money with the consent of the Genoese bankers themselves, as a loan to the English Crown. This act of official piracy greatly benefited the Netherland freebooters, who were almost certain now of the open support

in the English waters—of government as well as of people. Even Dolhain—an emissary of William the Silent—thought to be a chief of the Sea Beggars—was publicly and cordially received at the English Court. These and other considerations, such as the seizure by Alba of English ships and merchandise in the Netherlands, and the counterseizures in England, seemed certain to lead to open warfare between Spain and England.

The Spanish ambassador, however, apprised his government of the fact that the English navy consisted of twenty-two royal ships, and seventy well-equipped, strongly-manned pirate vessels, while Spain, at the time, hardly possessed any serviceable navy. Alba, moreover, was not eager for a war with England, owing to the situation in the Netherlands, and the almost certain support to the Netherland rebels by France, in case of an Anglo-Spanish war. Elizabeth, on the other hand, on account of domestic difficulties and her designs upon Scotland, was not desirous of war; and thus the clouds blew over, although commercial intercourse between England and the Netherlands was practically suspended for more than three years. In April, 1569, Elizabeth's government issued for the second time a decree against the freebooters, containing the most severe provisions against harboring them, and purchasing their spoils. But these decrees appeared more formidable upon paper than in reality. For when, in the month of May, a heavy gale had obliged Jan Abels to seek shelter in an English port upon the Lincolnshire coast, he was not detained after having shown letters of marque, issued to him by Count Louis, and after having proved to the satisfaction of the authorities that he had never molested any English craft.

The Frisian Beggars, in the meantime, had not remained idle. The redoubtable Jan Abels, who had received many

additions to his forces, ventured as far inland as the city of Groningen, and in March, 1569, plundered five vessels in the immediate neighborhood. On May 21st Alba received information of this act, through his spy in East Friesland; he advised the duke to chase Abels as far as the city of Emden. Abels having sent part of the booty to Emden, his wife and brother disposed of it there, while another part was sold by his son at Norden.

These and other depredations again induced the Court of Friesland to devise means to prevent "piracy on the waters of Friesland." Three small vessels, manned by fifty sailors, was all the government of the province could afford to equip. On April 19th, 1569, they were put into commission, and intrusted to the command of Captain Magnus Arendtz. The province of Groningen also equipped two ships and thirty men, under Captain Pieter Thyes. These five ships and eighty men were all that the two impoverished provinces were able to oppose to the vessel of Jan Abels and the ten well-equipped, well-manned Beggar ships of Jan Bonga and Homme Hettinga. The above Jan Bonga, ex-grietman, or President of the district of West Dongeradeel, cruising in the Friesland waters with five ships, had carried off, on June 13th, 1569, a number of prominent Netherlanders, and captured several Netherland ships, all of which were taken to Emden and Norden.

The Frisian Sea Beggars laughed at the feeble show of resistance made by their opponents. They had, moreover, hundreds of secret friends in both Groningen and Friesland, who kept them informed of every move of the enemy, the freebooters thus always appearing where their presence was least expected. It is to be kept in mind, in this connection, that the Sea Beggars seldom accepted battle when

they could avoid it, except for the sake of gaining booty. They were freebooters or privateers ; not soldiers.

Finally it became so dangerous for vessels to venture out that, on March 31st, 1569, Alba issued a decree, in which he stated that, as long as the authorities had not succeeded in annihilating the pirates, no one—of whatsoever rank, state, or condition in life—would be permitted to undertake a sea voyage without being well supplied with men, cannon, and ammunition for the purpose of resisting the pirates.

Notwithstanding the edicts against the pirates, issued by Queen Elizabeth's government, the English people, deriving large profits from their connections with them, continued to favor the Dutch privateers whenever they were able to do so. Even the English officials covertly assisted the outlaws, while the central government at London was not very rigid to enforce its own decrees against them. About the time the edict of April, 1569, was promulgated, the Lord of Dolhain was not only again in England collecting money among the Netherland exiles there,—for the prince's undertakings,—but was even endeavoring, in his capacity as the prince's commissary, better to organize and discipline the lawless Sea Beggars, and thus make use of them in some systematic attempt to free their country.

With the moneys received from the exiles, Dolhain continually bought ships and ammunition, enlisted sailors and soldiers, and even collected them,—to the number of fourteen hundred,—at the mouth of the Thames. That these equipments were not, and could not be, made in secret, is plain from the fact that Lord Cobham, warden of Dover Castle, was specially commissioned by his government to keep an eye on them, and to inform the central authorities of all the movements of Dolhain and his partisans. In the summer of 1569 the prince's commissary had a well-equipped squadron

ready, consisting of four large and three small vessels. The presence of several Huguenot chiefs led to the surmise that an expedition to Rochelle was intended, where the prince and his brother—Count Louis of Nassau—arrived at the same time. Others thought that the expedition was destined to assist the English government in an attack upon Amsterdam or upon some other Dutch maritime city, for the purpose of forcing the Duke of Alba to accede to the demands of Queen Elizabeth and her Council. This appeared the more probable, as government vessels, in the English harbors, were equipping either for La Rochelle or against some Dutch port.

The ambassadors of France and Spain evidently feared that Dolhain might entertain projects against the security of their respective countries, and their energetic protests, in the month of August, 1569, led to the confiscation of Dolhain's ships. At the same time, Lord Cobham was sharply and publicly censured for covertly permitting the enlistment, in English harbors, of sailors and soldiers, destined to be used against friendly Powers! The forces had disbanded, but Dolhain protested that he had honestly bought and paid for the vessels, and therefore he demanded their release. The vessels were promptly returned to him.

Soon afterward, reports were circulated that Dolhain and several other Netherland freebooters, congregating in the southeastern harbors of England, intended to go to sea, and, in conjunction with Lancelot Van Brederode, who commanded two powerful Beggar ships, intended some mischief. For this purpose Brederode had left the coasts of Friesland, which, for a long time, he—issuing from the shallows of the Island of Borkum, at the mouth of the Ems—had rendered unsafe to any vessel friendly to the cause of Spain. Many thought that the projected expedition was in-

tended against Hamburg, to punish that city for the execution there of Jan Broeck and a number of his crew, who had been accused of plundering some Hamburg merchantmen. Relative to this, Alba, on July 30th, 1569, had even written to the municipal authorities at Hamburg not to show any compassion to Broeck, but to execute him, as an example and also advised the authorities not to extend any further hospitality to the Netherland rebels. The Spanish governor-general also wrote to Bremen, warning against the Sea Beggars, but neither the people of Hamburg nor those of Bremen were inclined to follow the Spaniard's advice as to the treatment of their Netherland kinsmen, although the Beggars had caused damage to their commerce.

Spes, the Spanish ambassador at London, evidently thought that the proposed expedition would not be directed against Hamburg, and again lodged protests with the English government against permitting the ships to depart. The result of this complaint was, that the ships, or at least their sails and rigging, were again seized. Dolhain again energetically protested, and early in September, 1569, he was permitted by the Privy Council to depart with all his ships, this time as admiral of the entire Beggar Fleet.

When Count Louis of Nassau—a few weeks prior to his defeat at Jemgum—in the name and by the authority of the prince had, on July 1st, 1568, commissioned Diederick Sonoy and Hendrick Thomasz to "seize violently and to make war against the enemies of the prince, their ships and goods" those commissions had the force of letters of marque, and removed the stigma of piracy from the action of the Netherland freebooters against the Spaniards and their allies. Similar commissions were subsequently issued to Jan Abels, Homme Hettinga, and other captains of the Sea Beggars.

With those that acknowledged the prince as an independent sovereign, these commissions conferred upon the Sea Beggars the status of privateers, and as such they were to be considered and treated among neutral nations. But there was neither unity of action nor of purpose among them. They were not an organized body. Every captain of a vessel acted as he deemed best. They acknowledged no one's authority, not even that of the prince or his commissioners if the orders did not suit their convenience. Joan Basius, or Baes, a Frisian jurist—William the Silent's trusted agent among the exiles in Germany, and the secret adherents of the cause in the Netherlands—had been sent to the exiled Netherlanders, "who had found shelter at Emden and Wesel." Large numbers of them were Sea Beggars, and it was for the purpose of inducing them to coöperate with William in his efforts to liberate their country that Baes was sent among them. All were quite willing to do so, but there existed no military or other organization to which they could address themselves, and upon whose initiative any successful effort was to be expected. The fear of Alba's spies rendered it impossible to organize any resistance in the country itself; the exiles were too widely scattered, and William's military operations had all been frustrated; while lack of the necessary funds rendered any other attempt for the present impossible.

William, therefore, thought of organizing the Netherland privateers, who now plundered at random, and who went wherever they listed without acknowledging any one's authority, often indeed more of a hindrance than a help to the cause they professed to serve. As a means to this end the prince, in August, 1569, appointed Adriaan Van Bergen, Lord of Dolhain, more generally known as Dolhain, admiral and commander-in-chief of all the Netherland privateers,

giving them strict orders to acknowledge Dolhain's authority.

But as long as there was no Netherland port to receive them, at which William could enforce his orders, and as long as the freebooters were obliged to live on plunder, and even expected to pay over a share of their booty to the prince or his commissaries, it was impossible to enforce even a semblance of discipline among them. Even if Dolhain had been the man fit to command a body of men as impatient of restraint and as lawless as the Sea Beggars, the very fact of their having been so long independent of authority rendered it well-nigh impossible to accustom them to the rigid discipline of a naval organization; even had there been the means to force them to it. Not only among the common sailors were there many foreigners, but a number of officers and captains sailing under the prince's colors were not Netherlanders, and these were ever ready to refuse or to revolt as soon as the prince or his lieutenants demanded obedience to orders that did not suit their pleasure.

It appears that some of the better element among the privateers were fully aware of this great defect in their organization. On August 15th, 1569, about the time of Dolhain's appointment as admiral, six captains of the Beggars—Albrecht Van Egmond, Lancelot Van Brederode, Crispinus Van Salbrugge, Barthold Entens Van Mentheda, Jelte Van Eelsma, and Meinert Friese—entered into an agreement before J. Coornhert, "imperial notary," in which they promised one another jointly to work for the liberation of their country from the alien yoke. The contract begins as follows: "Whereas, during the past years, the greater part of the nobility of Friesland as well as of Holland and this country, have been driven away from their fatherland, leaving behind goods, wives, and children [therefore the sub-

scribers agree] to assist one another with all their possessions, bodies, and lives, only for the purpose of damaging, destroying, and annihilating the Duke of Alba and his bloodthirsty adherents." It was further stipulated "that none of us shall, on his own account, either conceive and plan or begin any attack without the knowledge of all, and without the consent of our common council and assembly." They further decided that one half of the booty and of the prizes should go to the prince, the second half to remain for the captains and the crews.

This contract may be adjudged as the first conscious and well-defined expression of the purpose of the seafaring exiles. From this time on there developed among them that spirit of solidarity and coöperation that often manifested itself in concerted efforts to gain advantages over the enemy, and that culminated in the liberation of their oppressed country from the clutches of the alien usurper. Hence, thereafter, the Netherland privateers were more generally known and mentioned among the people as *Water Geuzen*, *Zee Geuzen*, or Sea Beggars, the name having been preserved through the ages, and being still revered by most Netherlanders as characterizing the men that were instrumental in bringing about the independence of their country.

Chapter Two.

The Sea Beggars as an Organization.

AFTER Dolhain had been permitted to leave England in September, 1569, besides being admiral of the entire fleet of Sea Beggars, he had also a private command of four ships,—"De Post," "Het Vliegende Hert," "De Geelvink," "De Engel,"—Hembyse, Utenhove, Schoonewal, and his brother Louis Van Bergen being the captains of those ships. A smaller vessel, the yacht "Nachtegaal," served as despatch-boat. The collective crews of this squadron somewhat exceeded a hundred sailors. Few among them, however, were Netherlanders. They belonged to the scum of all nations, and would not have scrupled to have sold their commander and his officers to the Duke of Alba. On this account they had to be held in check by sixty soldiers, or marines, whom Dolhain would be unable to pay till he should be fortunate enough to capture a few prizes. With this purpose, the ships, on September 9th, 1569, left the mouth of the Thames, expecting soon to fall in with some merchantmen friendly to the enemy.

But even in those days, and during this expedition, the more thoughtful among the leaders of the Sea Beggars began to speak about surprising some Netherland seaboard city, like Enkhuizen, Briel, or Vlissingen, in order to make of it a second La Rochelle, and open to the Dutch freebooters a friendly port in their own country, and from there penetrate farther into the interior.

After having safely crossed the North Sea, a terrible gale, lasting two or three days—about the middle of September—forced the Sea Beggars to seek safety in the Vlie, a North Sea inlet into the Zuiderzee. Fortunately, however, for the straitened freebooters, two fleets, consisting of a hundred merchantmen, recently arrived from the Baltic, had also been forced to seek shelter there. The first fleet, consisting of sixty ships, fell almost immediately into their hands. A little later the other, consisting of forty richly-laden vessels, also was captured. A few of the ships were added to the fleet of the Sea Beggars, while others, after having been lightened of some or much of their cargo, were made to pay a heavy ransom, then permitted to proceed to their destination. In some of its aspects this transaction strongly savored of actual piracy, as several of the ships were furnished with safe conducts granted to them by Count Louis, and belonged to other than Spanish subjects, though destined for Spanish ports.

As soon as Count Bossu, the royal stadholder of Holland, learned of the unwelcome presence of the Sea Beggars in the Zuiderzee, he immediately stationed garrisons in the cities most likely to be attacked by them, and thus prevented any attempt in that direction. A strong fleet under the command of Boshuizen, equipped by Amsterdam and other North Holland cities along the Zuiderzee, as well as the approach of winter, speedily induced Dolhain and his captains to quit this neighborhood. They now made for the friendly harbors of East Friesland, Emden, Norden, etc., and there passed the winter and early spring. Some of their captains went to England, and sold much of their booty, which, again, gave rise to sharp remonstrances on the part of the Spanish ambassador.

Concerning the above capture of the two merchant-fleets in

the Vlie, and the subsequent measures against the Sea Beggars, Dr. Velius, who was almost a contemporary, gives the following description in his chronicles of the city of Hoorn: "On account of a certain gale which lasted two or three days, he [Dolhain] entered the Vlie, where two days later the Baltic fleet also arrived, being sixty ships strong. Not knowing of anything, it was immediately attached as a likely prize, and subjected to ransom. Four or five days later another fleet entering, consisting of forty ships, it also was captured, like the first. And whereas they were now strong, and they had been keeping themselves in the Vlie for several days, it began to be feared that some day they might undertake a "shore walk" (land gang) in this north land; in anticipation of which about four hundred Spaniards were immediately sent hither; and on September 24th, late in the evening, they arrived before Hoorn, and were admitted at eleven o'clock at night; not without great trepidation on the part of the burghers, who, during the one night the Spaniards lodged there, became sufficiently well aware what polite and grateful guests they are. Early in the morning they departed for Medenblik, there to watch the aforesaid Beggar ships. But because the ships, five or six days later, again left the Vlie, and sailed with their booty to the Ems, the Spaniards also departed, and from there went to Alkmaar. Count Bossu, stadholder of North Holland, arrived the following day, September 25th, at Hoorn, but remained only one night, leaving the following afternoon for Enkhuizen, to take measures against the aforesaid freebooters."

While Dolhain and his fleet had thus been profitably occupied in the Vlie, opposite the Frisian coast, the Frisian Sea Beggars had been no less active in the waters and on the soil of their own province. Near the beginning of the summer of 1569 the exiled Frisian nobles, Jan Van Bonga

and Homme Van Hettinga, together commanding ten light Beggar ships, were constantly harassing the northern coasts of the provinces of Friesland and Groningen, and about July 20th returned to Emden and Norden, for the purpose of there disposing of their booty, and visiting relatives and friends.

More than once a party of Sea Beggars, usually about fifty strong, would leave their vessels and take what they termed a " shore walk " (land ganck), which meant an unexpected visit to some rich partisan of Spain and enemy of his country's cause. They never molested any of the common people, provided they were not outspoken friends of Spain, this fact assuring the marauders the indulgence of almost every one not directly favorable to Spanish domination.

On August 20th, 1569, the Frisian Sea Beggars paid such a visit to the *grieteny* (district) of Oost Dongeradeel where Rintze, a brother of the famous Frisian jurist Viglius Van Aytta—both ardent partisans of Spain—was *grietman*, or president. After causing great consternation among the loyalists, and gathering much booty, the participants in the " shore walk " rejoined their ships, and a little later went to Emden, where the spoils, gained during their various expeditions, were publicly sold by auction. Even the spies of Mepsche—a satellite of Alba—bought some of the proceeds of the *landganck*, sold at Emden, in order to use them against the Count of East Friesland in Alba's complaints to the Emperor, and before the German Diet.

The fright caused by the nightly attack in his district, and the constant fear that he was under, because of the never-ceasing raids of the Sea Beggars, so influenced *grietman* Rintze Van Aytta's health, that he became ill and, in April, 1570, died. His successor, the Spanish partisan, Doede Van Syrxma, ex-burgomaster of the city of Leeuwarden, married

Rintze's widow, and, in the following year, 1571, also was honored with a visit from the Sea Beggars. He, however, as will be related later, succeeded in frightening them away, but only after they had obtained considerable booty.

The following excerpt from a long letter, written on August 26th, 1569, from Emden to the Dutch exiles at London, will convey some idea of the dealings of the Sea Beggars, and of their treatment of their countrymen that they suspected of partiality to Spain. The letter informed the London exiles that the writers, " out of heartfelt pity have been moved to write you for the purpose of highly recommending to you an honest skipper of Amsterdam named Dierick Allertszoon, alias Black Dierick, who, having arrived here at Emden from England, has informed us of his great misfortune and misery, viz., that his ship has there, to his great loss, been seized, and to the great affliction and sorrow of his dear wife and children, of whom he has a large number." And in order to have his vessel returned to him through the good services of Admiral Dolhain, if it can be proved that said skipper is favorable to his country's cause, " he has, for the purpose of vindicating himself, introduced to us two credible witnesses, named Willem Bruyn of Zwartesluys, and Claes Willemszoon of Der Gouwe, who have lived a long time at Amsterdam." The first-named witness testified that Black Dierick was everything he professed himself to be, while the second declared that he himself, at the request of said Dierick, had, with great danger to his own person, succeeded in getting Dierick's ship out of Amsterdam, because the skipper, in regard to his sentiments, was suspected by the Spanish authorities of Amsterdam and by the boom-shutter. " Therefore he did not dare to risk his person on the ship for the purpose of publicly leaving the limits of Amsterdam." Both witnesses further declared

that after his departure from Amsterdam said skipper had always properly conducted himself, and the writers of the letter proceeded : " Whereas, we have had such information concerning the said Dierick from the mouth of the witnesses, and from other honest merchants of Amsterdam who have taken refuge here, therefore, upon kind request, we have not deemed it inadvisable to inform the brethren of the same, hoping that it will assist not a little in relieving his sad case. Therefore, dear brethren, we pray you for Christ's sake that, considering the great loss of the aforesaid Dierick, and the sorrow of his afflicted wife and children, you will, after the nature of Christian charity, cordially aid and assist him in this sorry affair, that he may soon be helped out of his misery, and—as is his wont—honestly earn the bread for his family."

It is doubtful whether Dolhain could be approached in London about the matter, because, as will be seen subsequently, he returned to England in disgrace, and was even arrested there, and had probably then lost his influence upon his former captains. It is more probable that all—writers of the letter and skipper Dierick—saw Dolhain regarding the matter, about a month later, when he arrived at Emden for the purpose of disposing of part of the booty acquired in the Vlie.

The power, as well as the resolve, of the Sea Beggars was, in the meantime, considerably increased. It appears that they—or at least a part of them—again intended to surprise some important maritime city in Northern Netherland; chiefly for the sake of gaining a foothold in their own country, and to be safe from the whims and moods of the foreign potentates ; who, sometimes cordially, at other times very unwillingly, sometimes not at all, would afford the freebooters shelter in their harbors.

Antonis of Burgundy, Lord of Wacken, and royal stadholder of the province of Zeeland, had, on September 5th, been informed by the Duke of Alba that a number of Flemings and Walloons had, in England, joined with some Frenchmen and Englishmen, for the purpose of uniting with the Frisian " pirates " in an attack upon some Netherland maritime city. This undoubtedly referred to Dolhain's expedition which had sailed about the time the letter had been written. Alba had his spies in every center of the Netherland exiles, and was thus constantly informed of their movements, and often of their projects. He was, therefore, nearly always able to forestall them, and to prevent many a well-laid enterprise in the interest of the country's freedom.

Zeeland's stadholder, after receipt of Alba's letter, wrote on September 11th, 1569, to Bruininck Van Wyngaarden at Zierikzee " to take the necessary precautions in the places where it may be needed to guard against all such invasions as may be set on foot against them, everywhere stationing guards, and keeping a sharp watch; also warning one another with fires or other signals, so that if any enemies should approach, the forces could assist one another and be used for the above purpose."

In consequence of Alba's warning, the principal towns and strongholds were fortified, and their garrisons increased; probably, on this account, the Sea Beggars were obliged to abandon any attempt against seaboard cities, and confine themselves to operations at sea.

About the same time another body of Sea Beggars, after having blockaded the North Holland and Friesland coasts and harbors, and having rendered the Zuiderzee unsafe, were forced by the gales of winter to quit the scenes of their activity, and, accordingly, they conceived the plan of surprising the stronghold of Delfzyl, in the province of Gron-

ingen. This place was important, as it commanded the mouth of the river Ems, as well as the approach from the seaside to the city of Groningen. For a time the Sea Beggars blockaded Delfzyl, and closed the Ems with their ships. But as they were not equipped to besiege towns, and had, moreover, the energetic and resourceful Caspar De Robles opposed to them, their daily skirmishes and attacks resulted in nothing. They were soon forced to raise the blockade and siege, some of them leaving for England, others taking up winter quarters on the islands fringing the northern coasts of the provinces of Friesland and Groningen. Thence they constantly harassed the officials and friends of Spain in those provinces, and had many an encounter with Spanish troops.

The Islands of Ameland and Terschelling had been converted by the Frisian and other Sea Beggars into the storehouses of their booty, and a place of safekeeping for their prisoners. In September, 1569, they had made themselves masters of those islands, principally owing to the Count of East Friesland's wavering policy in regard to the seafaring exiles, although he was undoubtedly friendly toward them. Fear of Alba, and of his powerful allies at the imperial court of Vienna, often led the count to adopt measures unfavorable to the Netherland freebooters. It was principally for this reason that they wanted a foothold where they should be independent of any one's good will. On the Island of Ameland they had taken possession of the castle of Pieter Van Camminga, the former lord of the island. He was an exile, and, a friend of his country, desired its freedom. His abandoned stronghold was very much coveted by both parties. On this account both Beggars and Spaniards made the castle their headquarters when in possession of the island, and their first attacks, after landing, were directed

against its walls. The castle was the key to the whole island, and the party occupying it could consider itself master of Ameland.

A few days after their conquest of Ameland, the Beggars, on September 12th, 1569, made a descent upon the neighboring Island of Terschelling. They were guided by the former parish priest of Terschelling,—Father Jarich,—who had changed the cassock for the sword, and now served as the lieutenant of the Beggar chief Eelsma. Accordingly, at three o'clock in the morning of September 12th, the Sea Beggars suddenly frightened the inhabitants of Terschelling out of their slumbers, plundered some dwellings, demolished the summer mansion of the Count of Aremberg, stadholder under Spain of the province of Friesland, took the schout of the island and other prominent men prisoners, and departed with their spoils to their stronghold,—Ameland. From here they committed so many depredations against the loyal Frisians and Groningers, that Viglius Van Zuychem Van Aytta, president of Alba's Council of State, and himself a Frisian, determined upon a plan. He prevailed upon the governor-general to confer full power and authority upon De Robles, and permit him to draw upon all the resources of the government for the purpose of protecting those two northernmost provinces, and dislodging the Sea Beggars from their dangerous lurking-places.

In the latter part of this month of September, 1569, the province of Holland was engaged in equipping twelve ships against the Beggars. The States of this province also advised those of Friesland to do the same, proportionately to their ability, in order to attack unitedly the disturbers of their commerce, and to ensure the security of their citizens, especially those living in the open country. In reply to this request, the Frisian diet, October 12th, 1569, voted six thou-

sand Carolus guilders, for the purpose of protecting their people against the Sea Beggars, "who, under pretext of being their soldiers, cause much difficulty, trouble, and damage to the residents of this province,—living in the open country, and commit many depredations and much violence." With these six thousand guilders ships were equipped and manned with musketeers. Two months later, December 16th, 1569, the stadholder of Friesland further ordered the various *grietmannen* to increase and arm properly the coast-guards, long before stationed in their various jurisdictions.

Robles' first plan was to dislodge the Beggars from their strongholds; for this purpose he despatched, in December, 1569, a force of Spanish soldiers to the Island of Ameland. Here, however, the Spaniards were so warmly received by the Sea Beggars, under their impetuous commander, the famous Groninger nobleman, Barthold Entens Van Mentheda, that the attacking party was obliged to beat a precipitate retreat. Entens and his Sea Beggars remained for a month longer in undisputed possession of Camminga's stronghold and of the Island of Ameland, whence they continued plundering the Groninger and Frisian coasts whenever opportunity was favorable. This was not to be borne much longer, and Robles was resolved to drive them away at any cost. In January, 1570, he sent out a much stronger expedition than the one of the previous December, and this time he was more successful. Under his own leadership his troops surprised and attacked the Sea Beggars on Ameland. A short, decisive battle ensued, in which the Beggars were completely routed. Hardly a single one escaped unhurt, and Entens himself had scarcely time safely to reach his ship. The survivors were so thoroughly discouraged that winter, that they did not renew their efforts to regain possession of the island, and it is thought they may have joined their fellow

Beggars at Emden, in the English ports, or at La Rochelle.

At the beginning of this year 1570 plans were again laid to secure some important city for the cause of liberty in the province of Holland or Zeeland. The patriots had some such port in mind as Enkhuizen, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Flushing, or Briel. The city of Dockum, in the northern part of the province of Friesland, was also to be surprised. Homme Hettinga, Barthold Entens Van Mentheda, and Vlieger Van de Nykerk were to gain over Dockum. But the Court of Friesland was opportunely informed of the intended surprise, and immediately took measures to prevent it: the plan of the patriots was frustrated.

On February 10th, 1570, three Groninger nobles, Pieter and Asinga Ripperda—brothers of Wybolt Ripperda, the heroic defender of Haarlem—and Poppo Ufkens Ten Dam offered to bring Sonoy, the prince's lieutenant in Northern Netherland, three hundred men into the field, to undertake an attempt against some town. Lack of money, however, prevented Sonoy from immediately availing himself of their offer.

In May of the same year two attempts were to be made, one against Flushing by Ufkens, the other against Enkhuizen by Sonoy. The partisans of liberty in those cities were informed of the plan, and promised their support. Ufkens equipped a squadron at Emden, everything was prepared, and they were ready to sail, when Emden's drost, or warden, Oene Freese, suddenly arrested the expedition, and had the cannon removed from the ships. After a long delay, he permitted the vessels to depart only after their captains had declared under oath that they were bound for some English port. This delay was fatal to the success of the expedition, and Flushing was obliged to bear the yoke two years longer.

Sonoy, who had been equipping his fleet at Bremen, received intelligence that his few partisans within Enkhuizen's

walls were unprepared to assist him, and that the city government—favorable to the cause of Spain—did not intend to admit any garrison at all, neither Spaniards nor Beggars. Yet, ever after, secret efforts were made to gain over the cities of Enkhuizen, Hoorn, and Medenblik. Several prominent citizens and some members of the magistracy in those places had been won over to the cause of freedom, and it was specially owing to the efforts of Richard Klaaszoon and of Jan Klaaszoon Sloot—afterward burgomaster of Edam—that the subsequent espousal of the cause by these cities was made easier.

These failures rendered it even more imperative now to try to gain a footing in the country. It became absolutely necessary to obtain possession of some Netherland stronghold, to have not only a haven of refuge, but to gain a secure base of operations against other towns. Hence it became a settled purpose with the Beggars, as well as with the leaders of the revolt, to take by open force or by surprise some maritime city in Northern Netherland, and thus to become absolutely independent of the good will of foreign governments, who, however favorable to the cause, were, in their treatment of the Sea Beggars, forever swayed by selfish political considerations.

While the Sea Beggars were thus active in their country's cause, the prince, though residing in distant Dillenburg, was not less vigilant in watching his adopted country's interests. He maintained a very ingenious system of correspondence with Sonoy, who lived mostly at Cleves or at Emden, with Yonker Albrecht Van Huchtenbroeck, Adriaan Van Zwieten, Jacob Van Weezenbeek, Reinier Kant, and other patriots, so that he was fully informed of every event happening in the country itself and among the exiles. On February 8th, 1570, Sonoy, at the peril of his life, began a

trip through the provinces of Holland and Utrecht to collect money for the great plans that were to be carried into effect in the fall of the same year. According to the historian Hooft, this trip resulted not only in large contributions of money, but several daring spirits promised their unconditional coöperation, while "everywhere several attempts began to hatch."

About the time of Sonoy's mission, in the month of February, 1570, Holland's stadholder, Bossu, resolved to deal a decisive blow to the Sea Beggars on the Zuiderzee, who were causing incalculable damage to the commerce of Amsterdam, as well as to the fishing interests of the smaller towns fringing the coasts of the Zuiderzee. The city of Hoorn added its contingent of two ships, one under the command of its burgomaster Jan Symonsz Rol, the other under Captain Jan Vest. They joined the rest of the fleet, gathered at Enkhuizen, and, twelve in number, under the supreme command of Texel's schout François Van Boshuizen, went in search of the depredators. The Sea Beggars, not deeming it advisable to await the onslaught of so well-equipped and powerful an armada, took refuge in the Ems, there expecting to be safe from attack. They were mistaken. For Boshuizen immediately followed them, and, unexpectedly coming upon them, surprised and captured two of their ships. The others were scattered, "mostly through the diligence and courage of our Burgomaster Jan Symensz Rol, who, because of this feat, was greatly esteemed by the Duke of Alba, and by him was promoted vice-admiral of the entire fleet," says Hoorn's ancient chronicler Dr. Velius in his account of the engagement. At the same time, Alba ordered troops to be stationed in Hoorn and Medenblik, to protect them against rumored attacks by the Sea Beggars, and for this purpose several companies of soldiers

were withdrawn from the central Spanish garrison at Utrecht.

The attempt of Yonker Lancelot Van Brederode against Enkhuizen, although futile, as well as many other signs of renewed activity upon the part of the patriots, at last quickened Alba with the fear that even the maritime cities in his immediate neighborhood would be safe no longer. As early, indeed, as March 18th, 1570, he issued written orders to the authorities of the cities of Ghent and Antwerp, wherein he commanded them to watch day and night for the safety of their respective towns against the depredating attacks of the Sea Beggars. He also admonished them to be most careful in watching and interrogating every stranger within their jurisdiction that appeared at all suspicious, and to deliver up to justice every one that should fail to give a satisfactory account of himself. Small sail boats also were to be equipped, each manned by six or eight sailors, armed with muskets. The boats were to cruise on the rivers and streams in their immediate neighborhood, and thus to guard against and to frustrate every attempt of the Sea Beggars to plunder country houses or to kidnap wealthy partisans of Spain.

That Alba's fears and preparations were not quite superfluous, was shown by the capture of the marketship between Amsterdam and Antwerp, by the intrepid Jan Van Troyen. This daring chief of the Sea Beggars, the son of an humble Rotterdam skipper, commanding a ship and crew of thirty-five, boldly visited the South Holland waters, plundering, pillaging, and carrying off the enemies of his country's freedom, and disappearing only for a short time when the Spanish authorities were too close upon his heels. To protect themselves and their burghers against Jan Van Troyen and other depredating Sea Beggars, the cities of Gouda, Delft, and Dordrecht were also obliged to maintain upon the in-

land waters and canals heavily armed yachts, manned by soldiers and artillerists, employed at the expense of those cities. All this occurred through the fault of a king and people holding no claim to a country perfectly able to govern itself and to direct its own affairs, and, hence, to dispense with the supervision and meddling of intruding aliens.

Because of the recent defeat of the Sea Beggars on the Ems, and the concerted action of Bossu and Robles against them, a great number of them was forced, for the time being, to leave these coasts and waters. At the beginning of March most of them set sail for England, closely pursued by the Spanish fleet. A severe storm arose, during which their flagship and three other large vessels were lost,—due chiefly to carelessness, drunkenness, and lack of discipline, as is evident from Dolhain's letters to the prince. The admiral, who had remained at Emden and entrusted the command to his brother, did not appear to take the loss very seriously, as he said the heavy cannon and ammunition had been mostly removed from his ship. This was the second time that the Sea Beggars lost their flagship, but when or where the first loss occurred is not known. Fortunately for the freebooters, the storm that had caused them such heavy losses, also struck their pursuing enemy, so that he was obliged to abandon the chase.

The Netherland coasts and shipping were now granted a short respite from the attacks of the principal body of the Sea Beggars, owing to their stay in England. Here they were favorably received, and the wife of Gabriel De Montgomery —the involuntary slayer of Henry II. of France,—even presented them with a splendid ship, which the Sea Beggars named " De Gravin " (the Countess) in her honor.

While in the English Channel the Netherland freebooters often committed acts that cost them the favor of both the

French and the English government. They would pursue the merchantmen into English harbors, until the commanders of those ports were obliged to fire upon them. One of their most prominent chiefs, Schoonewal, was, as a consequence, arrested by the English authorities at Dover, and put into prison. Lumbres, the future admiral of the Sea Beggars, and Jerome Tseraerts—the prince's master of the horse, now commanding a Beggar ship—who in succession had acted as William's commissaries in England, did their utmost to persuade the Privy Council to have Schoonewal released. They appear to have been successful; for, some months later he was again in command of his ship.

In France, where the Sea Beggars to a certain extent enjoyed the freedom of the ports, for purposes of selling their prizes, victualing and repairing their ships, they behaved at times but little better than in England. On April 23d, 1570, the French King gave orders to have them arrested, after his officers had been obliged to prevent some of them, at the cannon's mouth, from attacking vessels in or near French harbors.

Though a large part of the fleet of the Sea Beggars had been forced to leave for the English Channel in February and March of the year 1570 all had not left,—as Friesland experienced to its cost. It appears that the great body of Frisian exiles, nobles as well as commoners, could not bear, for any length of time, to be far away from the land from which foreign tyranny had exiled them. The crews of Dolhain's ships numbered many foreigners. Most of his captains, however, were Netherlanders.

Among the Sea Beggars that remained close to the Frisian coasts and islands were few foreigners, even few hailing from other Netherland provinces, except the province of Groningen. Nearly all were Frisians, who, though unable

to tear their province from the grasp of the alien oppressor, could at least cause much damage to him and to his Frisian partisans. In the month of May, 1570, a band of ninety Frisian Sea Beggars surprised and sacked the little city of Hindelopen, near the southern coast of Friesland, leaving only after having " lined their clothing with money." In the following month they undertook a " shore walk " to the *grieteny* of West Dongeradeel, where Reinier Frittema, an ardent partisan of Spain, was *grietman.* In 1567, he had succeeded Jan Bonga, who had been deposed and exiled for embracing his country's cause, and who, ever since the first appearance of the Sea Beggars, had been an influential leader among them. Frittema was lifted from his bed, and, with a considerable amount of booty, taken to the Beggar ships. Here his friends procured his liberation only after paying a heavy ransom.

The raids became so frequent, and were executed with such boldness and secrecy that, before long, no nobleman or rich partisan of Spain dared stay in the country, but was compelled to seek safety within the walls of fortified towns. Even the soldiers of Robles, indifferently and irregularly paid, often undertook raids into the open country, plundered those they had enlisted to protect, and pressed every third man from among the country people to do military duty. Man and nature seemed to have conspired to destroy the unfortunate province and ruin its wretched inhabitants.

Meantime an attempt was making to gain Holland's most ancient town, the city of Dordt, or Dordrecht, for the prince and liberty. Gysbrecht Jansz Koning, a Sea Beggar from Dordrecht, was to effect this; and, for this purpose, he had succeeded in entering the city. He secreted himself in the house of his father, Jan Gysbrechts Coninck, who knew of the plan and favored it, and who had received a commission

of the prince, while Pieter Jansen, an uncle of the Sea Beggar, was also in the secret. But their correspondence being discovered, the attempt was frustrated, and the aged Jan Coninck, unable to fly, paid with his life for the crime of patriotism, and was burnt at the stake within the capital of Brussels. It would have been too dangerous to have executed him at Dordt, or at any other place where there was not an overpoweringly-strong Spanish garrison to hold the excited populace in check.

Notwithstanding their late reverses, the strength of the Sea Beggars constantly increased. William and his brother Louis issued new commissions to noble and prominent Netherlanders. From the river Ems to the Gulf of Biscay, and far into the Atlantic Ocean the Beggar ships—now flying the prince's colors—rendered the sea unsafe to all Spanish craft likely to contain anything else than sailors or soldiers. Jan Van Troyen also had now shifted the scene of his activity. He left the waters of South Holland for the river Ems and the city of Emden, probably to dispose of part of his booty, probably to learn if something could not be done from that base in the interest of his oppressed country.

William the Silent had again advised the capture of some maritime city, this time Antwerp, where the majority of the people were favorable to the cause of their country's freedom. With this object in view Sonoy had equipped a few ships at Bremen, while Pompejus Ufkens Ten Dam, a Groningen noble, who had spent a fortune in vain attempts to free his country, had done the same thing at Emden. Joannis Basius, the prince's commissary at Emden, at the same time advised three Beggar captains to undertake a trip to the Vlie and the Zuiderzee with a view to gaining some booty and also to keep the enemy occupied. These captains were Adriaan Manninck, a painter of Delft, a man of great force of

mind and character, who had escaped from the disaster at Oosterweel in 1567; Nicholaas Ruychaver, a patrician burgher of Haarlem, one of the noblest characters of the earlier years of the revolt; and the daring Jan Van Troyen, for whom Basius had equipped a serviceable ship at Emden.

On the evening of June 14th, 1570, these Sea Beggars entered the Vlie, and cast anchor close to Bossu's ship. This they attacked the following morning. A savage fight ensued, during which Van Troyen and three of his men boarded the Spanish admiral's ship. An accident, or perhaps a cleverly-executed move on the part of the Spanish helmsman, separated the vessels. Van Troyen, sorely pressed by the Spanish soldiers, jumped overboard and saved himself upon a merchantman anchored some distance from the scene of battle. A Spanish officer and a boat's crew directly boarded the merchantman, which surrendered Van Troyen. He and his three companions were carried to Amsterdam, where, during several months, they were held in close captivity.

The Sea Beggars were furious at the loss of their favorite; they threatened to raze Amsterdam and Enkhuizen to the ground, and to kill every Amsterdammer or Waterlander that should happen to fall into their hands if any harm came to Van Troyen. The fear of these threats made the authorities of Amsterdam hesitate to execute him. They wrote to Alba regarding it. He answered that, if they had immediately executed Van Troyen, the talk and excitement about it would long before have died out. He therefore ordered his immediate execution; which took place in the month of October, 1570. The Sea Beggars promptly retaliated by suspending a captured pilot from the bow of one of their ships, and riddling him with bullets.

It appears, however, that Bossu had either been defeated

in the foregoing encounter, or had not succeeded in driving the Sea Beggars from the Vlie. At least, the city of Amsterdam requested the States of Holland to grant money for more ships to oppose the Beggars; while it is also evident from a resolution passed by the States of that province, dated June 19th, 1570, that Johan Basius had received part of the contributions (brandschatting) and of the booty. It even is evident from the deliberations of the States that the Sea Beggars continued to harass the commerce and fisheries of their province, and to appear again upon the inland waters.

The attempt against Antwerp, however, had to be abandoned for the present.

Dolhain—who had not accompanied his squadron after it had been forced to seek refuge in English waters near the spring of this year, 1570—took up his abode at first in Nesserland, between Emden and Reid. Later he cruised with a number of ships before the mouth of the Ems. From there he rendered the coasts and islands of Friesland and Groningen unsafe, and was in a position also easily to intercept merchantmen from the Baltic or the Scandinavian countries, destined to Netherland ports. For this purpose he utilized yachts and smaller vessels, through which he gained information about the grain ships coming from the port of Dantzic and from other harbors on the Baltic.

Alba again ordered the Count of Bossu to proceed with his twelve ships against the Beggars, and Robles was instructed to add eight more to this squadron, already so powerful. With this fleet Bossu went in search of the enemy; but when he found them the weather was too severe to engage in battle. Dolhain made use of this opportunity to evade his assailants, but so precipitate was his flight that part of his fleet became unmanageable, and he lost twelve

of his ships. Three of the larger ones, with some cannon and ammunition, were taken by the Spaniards ; the other nine were burned.

After Dolhain had permitted his fleet to leave for England without him, the prince's commissary at Emden, Johan Basius, demanded an accounting, for the purpose of receiving his share of the booty. It was estimated that, with the last successful raid on the Baltic fleet in the Vlie, in September, 1569, this booty would amount to little less than three hundred thousand dollars. The admiral refused to account to Basius, whereupon the prince threatened to depose him. Hereupon he left Emden, and in March, 1570, went to the prince at Dillenburg, where he arrived not only empty-handed but even demanded the payment of five thousand dollars as money advanced by him for the cause! Dolhain further passed his time in continual quarrels with William, who was greatly disturbed by the admiral's refusal to account to him, and by his unwillingness to sail with the fleet. After his last disastrous engagement against Bossu, Dolhain returned to England, where he was immediately arrested by order of the English government.

Chapter Three.

Under Their Second Admiral.

THE prince now dismissed Dolhain from office, and resolved to have him replaced by another in whom he could trust, and who would also be more capable of maintaining discipline. The cities of Hamburg and Bremen, and even Emden itself, had lodged complaints with the Diet at Spires in regard to the excesses of the Sea Beggars, which would force William either to disavow them,—something he could not and would not do,—or else to replace the man under whose supreme command the lawless acts had been committed. Still, William was magnanimous ; he did not want to offend unnecessarily Dolhain ; therefore he made it appear as if all irregularities had taken place after Dolhain had severed his active connection with the Beggar Fleet, as is shown from the following advice to his successor : " The lack of authority, little discipline, and disorder which have existed on our ships of war since the departure of the honorable Adriaan Van Berghes, Lord of Dolhain——"

Dolhain, after permitting the fleet to proceed to England without him, entrusted the supreme command to his brother Louis Van Bergen, who had charge already of eight ships. It was first proposed to appoint him admiral, but wiser counsel prevailed, and Guislain De Fiennes, Lord of Lum-

bres, was named in his stead. Lumbres was not only well known to the prince and his brother Louis, but was an intimate friend of both, and had, prior to this, been employed by them in the country's service, especially as negotiator, and as commissary among the exiles in England. It is even probable that in some capacity or other he had been actively connected with the Sea Beggars, in consequence of which he was now honored with the supreme command. It is quite certain that he was a man of courage and caution. His family came originally from Artois, and both he and his elder brother Eustache, who also was an ardent supporter of the cause, and a close friend of Louis of Nassau, had, in 1565, signed the "Compromis," or covenant of the nobles. It is probable that, through the influence of Count Louis, who more especially superintended naval affairs, Lumbres was appointed admiral of the Beggar Fleet.

It was, therefore, on August 10th, 1570, that the prince commissioned the "Honorable Guislain De Fiennes, Knight, Lord of Lumbres, Chief and Captain-General of all ships, large and small at sea, which the Lord of Dolhain and, since his departure, the Lord of Bergen, have commanded, besides all other ships cruising in our name in any other parts of the sea, or that shall hereafter be equipped and armed for our service. All of these ships we desire to unite into one fleet, under the command and government of the said Lord of Lumbres, as long as we shall see fit, conferring upon him perfect power and authority, and by the present [giving] special orders to war against, attack, and cause damage to the Duke of Alba and his adherents, the disturbers and enemies of the common peace and prosperity, the liberties and ancient privileges, of the country, and the service of the king."

From this last clause it will be observed that the prince always kept up the fiction of fighting for the king against

his unworthy functionaries in the Netherlands. Political considerations induced William and his advisers thus to act, as the conviction of the divine right of kings was so strong in all the surrounding monarchies that it was dangerous for a small people to revolt against their legal sovereign, even if that sovereign should commit the most revolting and unlawful acts. Queen Elizabeth of England was, for political considerations, perfectly willing, in a desultory manner, to support the Netherlanders against the Duke of Alba, under the fiction that he was an usurper, unfaithful to his sovereign, and acting without his knowledge and consent. But she was not willing to assist them against Philip II., their God-anointed sovereign. She declared herself unwilling to assist "subjects in revolt against their Lord," perhaps as much from fear that the revolutionary doctrine and example might infest her own subjects, as out of sympathy with her royal cousin of Spain. However, she was not at all averse, without too much danger to herself, to assist in curtailing the growth of a power that had become too formidable to be regarded with composure.

Even among the common people of the Netherlands there were many thousands that, though strongly opposed to Alba and his measures, would not countenance any direct revolt against their divinely-appointed ruler in far-away Madrid. They honestly thought he was kept in ignorance of the real state of affairs in their country, and that he would speedily right matters could he only be prevailed upon to pay a visit to his loyal Netherland provinces. This was one of the reasons why the leaders of the revolt, who knew much better, kept up the semblance of fighting for the king till 1581. At that time the condition of affairs, and the temper of the people, had undergone such a change that they were in a position to abjure their sovereign, and to act upon the

principle that rulers exist for their people, not the people for their rulers.

Dolhain was soon discharged from his confinement in England, and William now offered him the command of a few ships. This the former admiral of the Beggar Fleet refused. It was everywhere rumored that he had become very rich. That he went to live in opulence at Cologne, Germany, was certain. Here he passed his leisure; at first in continual quarrels with the prince. But after some time, a reconciliation took place, and Dolhain again engaged in the cause of his country. This time on land. In 1572 he met a soldier's death during William's vain attempt to relieve Mons, or Bergen, in the province of Hainault, where the prince's brother Louis was besieged by the Spaniards.

The new admiral had also received an entirely new set of instructions, which, above everything else, concerned the common interest and the cause for which the Sea Beggars professed to fight. The ships were to be held together for mutual assistance, some of them to be used for special attempts. No more criminals were to be allowed to take service on the fleet; no more foreigners were to command ships, unless especially authorized by the prince; no more irregular freebooters and privateers were to be incorporated into the fleet, unless a rigid investigation of their history showed that they were guiltless of criminal conduct.

In regard to the booty and prizes, it was stipulated that one-third should go to the prince to be used for the common cause, to be paid into the hands of his commissary at Emden, Johan Basius; one-third to the captains, out of which they were to provision and equip their vessels; the last third to the crews; and one-tenth of this last third was to be the share of the admiral.

Although these instructions were powerless to improve at once the character of the Sea Beggars, it is certain that a little better discipline was instantly visible in the fleet, which was owing perhaps as much, or more, to the new admiral's personality as to the instructions issued by the prince. Still, the prince did not yet feel quite assured in regard to the conduct of his loyal Sea Beggars. At this same time Anne of Austria, bride and niece of Philip II. of Spain, was to sail from Antwerp to Spain, and William very much feared that the Sea Beggars might attempt to capture her and the fleet that was to convey her. Had they done so, the whole of Europe would have risen in arms against them, and the cause of liberty for the Netherlands would not only have been much compromised, but absolutely crushed. On this account, the prince added to the general instructions under the same date, August 10th, 1570, special instructions to his admiral and to all the captains of the fleet, ordering them, under penalty of his highest displeasure, not to molest or interfere with this expedition. The royal convoy consisted of twenty-six men-of-war, and more than sixty other vessels,—ninety in all,—and had cost the Netherlands the sum of £56,931 Flemish, an immense amount in those days; taking, too, into consideration the greatly impoverished condition of the country. To put the fleet that was to convey his sovereign's bride to Spain in a proper state of defense, Alba removed most of the heavy cannon from the walls of Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Sluis, Veurne, Mechelen, Rammekens, Flushing, Zierikzee, Middelburg, and Veer, and embarked, besides, 1400 regular soldiers.

The Sea Beggars, however, because of William's injunctions, did not have the least intention of attacking the future wife of their unworthy sovereign; so she reached Spain without being molested.

In England the Spanish ambassador was more active than ever. Besides secretly intriguing against Queen Elizabeth's government, he protested in public against the protection offered by that same government to the Sea Beggars. Sometimes those protests were effective ; for, shortly after Lumbres' appointment, Lord Cobham received orders to confiscate their prizes if the Sea Beggars should again take them into the harbor of Dover to dispose of them there. The admiral's protests against this and other orders concerning the Sea Beggars bore no fruit except in the liberation of Captain Schoonewal. But the proclamations against the Beggars, also because of complaints by English and Hamburg merchants, provisionally remained in force, and, from time to time, were renewed.

The pernicious activity of Alba's spies had often caused much trouble and harm to the Sea Beggars, and more than once had prevented the execution of their seemingly best-laid plans. On this account, the freebooters were not disposed to treat those spies leniently when they fell into their hands. The Beggar captain Entens, who commanded a number of Sea-Beggar ships, congregating in the waters of the Count of East Friesland, had, on September 12th, 1570, captured Philip Abue, a spy of De Robles. Two hours after his capture an officer of the fleet visited the spy, and informed him in the name of Entens that he had been condemned to be beheaded and quartered ; after this the four quarters were to be stuck on poles in four different places of the province of North Holland. It appears, however, that the intervention of the burgomasters of Groningen, with the drost and several influential burghers of Emden, secured the spy a respite, and subsequently his liberty. On September 25th the prisoner was conducted before the Council of War, at whose opening Entens addressed the spy in the fol-

lowing language: "We, nobles, captains, and provosts of the warships belonging to the very august and very puissant lord—the Prince of Aurania—who has commissioned and ordered us to protect the righteous, to punish the bad, and to pardon those who deserve it; we, as the true pillars of the Christian faith, promise to save your life if you shall speak the truth. Otherwise, we shall cause you to die a thousand deaths." This high-flown language, instead of abashing or intimidating the spy, only caused him to laugh derisively at his judges and their spokesman. Entens, beside himself with rage, ordered his immediate execution. A stout rope was thrown over the yard-arm of his prison-ship, a noose put round the unlucky spy's neck, and he was quickly suspended between heaven and earth. After having hung a few seconds he was lowered and asked how he liked the King of Spain's service. Probably because of the above-named influences, he was not further molested. Afterward he was ransomed for the small amount of three hundred and ninety-five guilders.

Spanish oppression, meanwhile, had not abated. By the aid of his army of occupation, Alba had continued not only to hold the people in check, but even his soldiers often played at brigandage, and behaved so badly within and without their garrisons that the most ardent partisans of Spain overwhelmed the duke with complaints. The city council of Mechlin, for instance, after their city had for a period of twenty-one months been burdened with a Spanish garrison, and the alien misgovernment had driven commerce and industries away from their town, were obliged, on September 18th, 1570, to complain to the duke about "the lamentations, tears, and moanings of the poor people" who had been forced to provide the Spanish garrison with linen

and furniture, which those lawless hordes had long before destroyed, and who now wanted fresh supplies.

During the summer and fall of this year, 1570, great preparations were made to attempt something important for the liberation of the distressed country. But these undertakings again miscarried, this time because of the inclemency of the elements. While the prince and the leaders of the Sea Beggars were still busy with their preparations, a part of the fleet had returned to the waters of Holland, and Hoorn's chronicler gives the following account of their doings there: "In the meantime the freebooters caused much damage at sea, and most of the time cruised before the mouths of the rivers—sometimes even venturing inside—in the Vlie, on the Wadden, and also along the coasts of Friesland. At one time they took twenty-four herring busses, and later two Spanish vessels, loaded with piece goods. On September 30th Lancelot Van Brederode and some other captains again arrived in De Vlie, and captured eight large ships loaded with stock fish, cod-liver oil, skins, and similar merchandise; later three flieboats, some pilot-boats, a boyer loaded with herring; also took seven or eight other vessels, which they permitted to depart, after paying ransom. So much damage was caused that the duke was again obliged to equip ships. And this was done in all of these maritime cities, especially at Hoorn. But he did not have great success, some of his ships even deserting to the Beggars."

While Brederode and his associates were thus causing great damage to the enemy in the region of the Zuiderzee and the Vlie, the Frisian Sea Beggars constantly kept up their harassing practises in their own province. During the night of September 26th the Frisian Beggar chief, Egbert Wybrantsen, and his crew, attacked the small seaboard city of Workum—the oldest town of Friesland—plundered every

building that belonged to or sheltered friends or partisans of Spain, destroyed the castle and everything in it that they could not take away with them, and carried off some prisoners, for whom they intended to demand a ransom of six thousand crowns. This ransom—a letter informed the friends of the prisoners—was to be sent within two weeks, "to Emden, to the house of Andries Wybrantsz, in the Houtzagers Street, near the house of the wife of the treasurer; next to an inn." Andries Wybrantsz, at whose house Captain Egbert was staying at the time the letter was written, was probably the captain's brother, and also a Sea Beggar. The Beggars had conveyed their prisoners to Norden, but the demanded ransom was not paid, as Count Edzard of East Friesland, fearing the wrath of Alba and the Emperor, ordered the Beggars to liberate their prisoners without insisting upon the ransom, and even confiscated Wybrantzen's ship. At the same time, the count forced the Beggars to discharge the dangerous Spanish partisans, Jan Van Mepsche, and Rempt Jensema, for whom they had intended to ask a ransom of five thousand guilders—one more reason for possessing a stronghold of their own in their own country!

As has been related, the leaders of the revolt, during the summer and fall of 1570, had been busy making preparations for a decisive blow against Spanish domination in Northern Netherland. The prince's emissaries had, for this purpose, been collecting contributions among the exiles in Germany and in England; among their French friends at La Rochelle, and among the secret adherents of the cause in the Netherlands. New ships had been equipped, fresh ammunition and better artillery had been procured, and a small army was being levied in Germany, near the boundaries of the Netherlands. The cities of Enkhuizen and Hoorn, of Dordrecht

and Delft, of Rotterdam and Briel, with the entire Island of Voorne, were to be surprised from the seaside. Zwol, Kampen, Deventer, Zutphen were to be attacked from the direction of Germany. Even Dunkirk and Amsterdam were mentioned. It was known that thousands among the residents of these cities were tired of the yoke of Spain, and that many of their inhabitants were ready to assist in any promising enterprise, however bold, to gain them over to the cause of liberty and progress.

In October, Admiral De Lumbres was cruising near the Isle of Wight with a squadron consisting of fourteen or fifteen staunch vessels. He was there awaiting the arrival of Count Louis of Nassau, who was then at La Rochelle, expecting assistance from his French friends and allies in the projected enterprise against the Netherland ports. The Frisian Beggars, under Barthold Entens Van Mentheda and Lancelot Van Brederode, were getting ready in the Ems. This was to be the first time in all their history that the entire body of Sea Beggars were to unite in one great effort against Spanish domination. Brederode, Entens, Ruychaver, Menninck, Albrecht Benningerhof, and other Beggar chiefs were, with six hundred men, to attack the cities of Enkhuizen and Hoorn. As related before, their cruise in the Vlie and on the Zuiderzee—preliminary to the later attempt, although procuring them much booty—had no lasting result.

When all preparations had been completed, and the various attempts were about to be made, the fearful storm and inundation during the night, of October 31st, 1570, —the terrible gale of All Saints' Eve—devastated the coasts. It not only dispersed the Beggar Fleet but also caused the sea to break through the dykes, drowning tens of thousands of Netherlanders, who had hitherto escaped sword, famine, and pestilence. Brederode and his associates, not

at all discouraged by this unlooked-for catastrophe, were ready to renew the attempt as soon as the damage to their ships had been repaired. But Basius, the prince's commissary, did not appear at the propitious time; and, without his orders and active coöperation, they could not proceed.

The prince himself, in his attack on Deventer, had been surprised by the sleet and inundation of an early winter. His expedition also resulted in nothing. Some of William's partisans among the burghers of Deventer had agreed to open one of the city gates as soon as he should present himself with a sufficient force. But the season was too far advanced, and snow impeded the movements of his troops. William employed hundreds of country people to make passable the road between Dillenburg and Wesel, while he and his brother followed on foot, leading the troops and encouraging the workmen. But now the thaw and rain caused freshets, and the attempt had to be abandoned. Pacieco, the Spanish commander at Deventer, had, meanwhile, become suspicious. In this connection the Dutch historian Hooft makes the following remarks: "But it is surprising that everything was kept so quiet where so many of every condition, sex and age, rich and poor, knew of it, and that nothing of the secret was disclosed either through treason, fear, or carelessness. This was a plain mark of the undying hatred against the Spaniards, and was also the cause that the attempts, at first unsuccessful, were ever after renewed. Pacieco, the governor of Deventer, however, became suspicious—it is not known why—and arrested several burghers, whom he tortured to death; but he was never able to get at the truth of the matter, or to discover the chief conspirators."

When the Beggar ships on the Zuiderzee were again ready to make their attempt against Enkhuizen and Hoorn, the

ice forced them to seek safer quarters elsewhere, out of reach of the enemy. Brederode, before sailing away, undertook the conquest of the Island of Texel, for the purpose of using it as a base of operations in future enterprises, as well as a place of safekeeping for his booty and prisoners. But his ships were caught in the ice and barely escaped shipwreck. Ruychaver and Entens had already lost all hope of escape when one last supreme effort saved both, and they also extricated themselves from the ice. Arriving in the Vlie—still comparatively unobstructed—Brederode captured, subjected to ransom, or plundered five merchantmen. Others went to Emden, where ten of the Beggar ships were arrested by the Count of East Friesland, and the Beggar chief, Dirk Van Bremen, was imprisoned upon accusation of having caused damage to the count's waters and territories. Subsequently it transpired that Count Edzard feared Alba was making preparations to have him punished for his too-open support of the Sea Beggars.

The audacious Entens made for his old stronghold, the Island of Ameland, in hopes of meeting with better success there than he had had at Texel. He succeeded in his design, but two months later, in January, 1571, Robles' soldiers drove the Sea Beggars away. Again they lost the only foothold they possessed in their fatherland.

While Entens, Brederode and others of their fellow Beggars constantly kept the northern part of the country in unrest, other Sea Beggars, in imitation of Jan Van Troyen, had invaded the waters of Zeeland and South Holland. But they never tarried very long, and their depredations in these waters were of a sporadic character.

In November, 1570, Captain Ruychaver, assisted by Gerrit Gerritsen Van Oudewater, Jan Jansen Van der Nywenburg, Andries Pieters De Bie, and skipper Calfsvel,

plundered the marketship between 'sHertogenbosch and Antwerp, and, besides a large quantity of merchandise, took 4,500 dollars in money from it. A little before this time they had made a raid on Ooltgensplaat, a village on the Island of Overflakkee in South Holland, and had plundered the house of a rich beer-merchant, and taken away the bells from the church steeple, to have them recast into cannon for their ships.

Of all the attempts contemplated in the fall and early winter of the year 1570, only one succeeded; and although it did not bear any direct fruit in promoting the cause of liberty, yet it left a lasting impression upon the minds of the people, serving thus to keep alive the hope of future liberation. On December 2d, 1570, Herman De Ruyter, a scion of an old and noble family of the province of Gelderland, surprised the stronghold of Loevenstein for the prince, and, after a most gallant defense of the fort he had taken, he set fire to the gunpowder. The historian Hooft gives the following graphic description of the surprise and subsequent defense of the castle: "Harman De Ruyter of 's Hartogenbosch, for some time a cattle-dealer, yet a man of very strong character, and with a natural inclination for warlike deeds, undertook a gallant attempt, which had lasting importance. At the western extremity of the Bommelerwaardt a castle may be seen, named Loevestein, commanding the Maas and Waal, which converge at that point, favorably situated to make a descent upon Workom and Gorkom, where, also, some of the inhabitants had been gained over. He and three companions succeeded in getting in the castle. They then slew the commander, and took the fortress, expecting assistance promised by Count Van den Bergh, the prince's brother-in-law, which, however, was prevented by the frost and the freshets. But he did not lose courage.

Having gathered about twenty-four men, he set to work to fortify as much as possible the place, walled only in the old way. Thereupon Lorenzo Perea, a Spanish captain, was sent thither from Den Bos, with a hundred and fifty musketeers and pikemen ; some laborers from Workom and Gorkom also were added to the force. This [commander] thinking it strange that they had dared to wait for him, demanded the surrender of the castle ; and receiving an unfavorable reply, he bombarded it with his heavy artillery. De Ruyter, calmly awaiting the worst, and inflamed with courage, called his companions together, and, addressing them, inspired them to such an extent with his own intrepidity, that, between a dishonorable death and the honorable death of a soldier, they preferred the latter, and embraced the resolve to defend themselves until their last drop of blood. The Spaniards—so many against one, and easily able to recuperate their losses—attempted to cross the ditches with ladders. And while the defenders were busy repairing the breaches in the wall, the assailants scaled the same in their rear, killing everybody they met. De Ruyter thought only of how he could sell his life most dearly and best avenge himself. He therefore took a position behind the doorway of a room, swinging a long sword with both hands, and, singly resisting the entire attack, did fearful execution, while the enemy stood aghast at so much calm severity. At last, overwhelmed by numbers, he set fire to some gunpowder, previously spread upon the floor, and destroyed himself, companions, and assailants in a general overthrow. But they—whose ancestors, at the foot of the staircase inside the castle of Naples, erected a marble statue in honor of a Frenchman because he alone, solely covered with visor, and armed with a rapier, had resisted an entire storming party, and lost his life in that act—

now dug the head of this great hero from among the débris, and nailed it to the gallows at 's Hertogenbosch. So far, then, had Spanish magnanimity deteriorated!—even though they excused themselves by asserting that the prince's partisans were to be deemed a horde of rebels, and not as lawful enemies. Some of his companions that had been captured alive, were hanged at Antwerp, two of them being tortured to death."

The Belgian historian Altmeyer thus describes the gallant defense of the doomed garrison of Loevestein: "As soon as Don Rodrigo De Toledo had learned from the magistrates of Gorkum and from the president of the Court of Holland what had taken place, he wrote to the authorities at Gorkum and Woudrichem to urge them to do all that lay in their power against the invaders, and to keep him informed of what was taking place. At the same time he promised them to do all that his duty required of him. But the magistrates of Woudrichem had already equipped ships, which cruised round Loevestein for the purpose of preventing anybody either from entering or quitting the place. The duke ordered them to do still more: to unite with the authorities of Gorkum, and to assist each other in capturing De Ruyter and his companions, and to punish them as an example to others. He also urged the people of Gorkum to imitate the example of the citizens of Woudrichem, and to equip vessels.

"They were right in taking such prompt and forceful measures; for De Ruyter was a cunning and resolute man, who, as early as 1566, had played a rôle in his native place, and, a year later, had been delegated to Brederode, who, at the time, was at Antwerp. Banished on March 24th, 1568, he had kept up an incessant intercourse with Belgian and Holland exiles, who were as ardent in their patriotism as

they were prominent through the position they had occupied in their country.

" Meanwhile Rodrigo De Toledo—who commanded eight companies of infantry, quartered at 's Hertogenbosch—having been informed by the drosts of Gorkum and of Woudrichem of what had occurred, sent Captain Lorenzo Perea with fifty soldiers to reconnoiter the condition of the enemy, and the position of the castle. This force, by Alba's orders, was later augmented by sixty arquebusiers. Perea had received orders to subdue the place if he found an opportunity. He embarked his men upon two vessels. As soon as he was near enough—this happened at nightfall—he entered a boat and made a reconnoiter around the fortress. Perceiving that the garrison was so careless that neither sentinel nor patrol guarded the walls, he fetched ladders from Woudrichem, although the moat contained much water, as this castle was protected upon one side by walls, and upon the other by the river Waal. Within, it was divided into three parts, with two moats filled with water and provided with drawbridges, without counting three feet of soil around the walls of the first, and fifteen around those of the second, building. Perea posted the ladders with so much celerity, that his soldiers were already upon the walls before those on the inside had perceived them. [December 15th.] Seeing them, De Ruyter and his companions retreated, and the enemy attacked them with so much vigor that he took both buildings and forced the besieged to seek shelter in the castle tower, whose gate they closed that same night. Assisted by Gorkum's drost Turk, and a number of burghers, Perea, with a field-piece that he had received from Bommel, bombarded a peep-hole from which the besieged fired on his troops. After the Spanish artillery had made a breach large enough for a man to creep through, a cor-

poral, with a few soldiers, approached the gate, and engaged in a lengthy pike-battle with the besieged. Meantime an arquebusier had shot the sentinel that had been posted on a turret, and, without affording time to the besieged to perceive this, he had put up a ladder against the wall, mounted with twelve soldiers, and sounded the alarm in the rear of De Ruyter's force. This surprise weakened their defense at the gate. The Spanish soldiers, preceded by two sergeants, forced an entrance. One of the sergeants was fatally wounded by two shots from a falconet while the other was attempting to mow down the besieged. De Ruyter retreated to a room, and strewed the floor with gunpowder. In one hand he held two fuses, in the other a sword. With this he defended himself until he fell dangerously wounded. Then he applied the fuses to the powder. The soldiers that had killed him left the room, covered with burns. The castellane met them in the hall in high spirits, although she had been wounded in the arm by a bullet sent by the Spaniards as she was standing near a peep-hole, where they had mistaken her for a sentinel.

"The battle had lasted from the 15th to the 19th of December, when the fortress was taken by storm. On the 16th, six partisans of De Ruyter endeavored to enter. But when they learned that the enemy had received reinforcements, they fled, and, pursued by the enemy, lost three of their party near Gorkum. On the 17th the Lord of Hardinxveld had been killed by De Ruyter.

"During this furious struggle the Council of Holland had neglected nothing to aid the Spaniards. They had written to Dordrecht, Delft, and Rotterdam asking to forward to the besiegers three or four barrels of gunpowder. At the same time they ordered the commanders of the castles at Muiden, Medenblik, and other strongholds, also the mag-

istrates of some cities, situated on the Maas and the Waal, to keep good watch, so as not to be surprised by the rebels.

"This victory was complete; and the Duke of Alba had become so much assured, that, when Turk, on December 18th, asked him for a number of soldiers for the castle of Gorkum, he replied on the 27th with a refusal, saying: 'Whereas the rabble in the castle of Loevestein has been either killed or captured, and the report of the danger had been greater than the reality, therefore it appeared to him that it was unnecessary to incur any expense by stationing more soldiers in the castle of Gorkum, and that, for the present, the ten recruited by Turk at his own expense were sufficient.'

"Ten of De Ruyter's companions had been killed, and their corpses suspended from trees standing near the castle. The prisoners had been taken to Antwerp, where they had been either hanged or quartered. De Ruyter's head, blackened by gunpowder, was nailed to a gallows and exhibited upon the market-square at 's Hertogenbosch. He had defended himself with lion-hearted courage, after having executed this bold surprise, in hopes of being supported by Van den Berg's forces. But rain and snow had interfered with their marching, and they could not prevent the recapture of Loevenstein. However, they succeeded in capturing Berg and Ulft, two strongholds in the county of Sutphen, without being able, however, to hold them.

"It was not alone De Ruyter's intention to capture the castle of Loevenstein,—famous in later years through the captivity of De Groot, [Hugo Grotius]—but he also purposed to conquer Gorkum and Woudrichem, the latter place belonging to the Count of Hornes."

Lumbres himself did not often accompany his fleet; he

was not a sailor, nor did he appear to feel much inclination for the occupation of a privateersman. He therefore generally remained on shore near the prince's brother, Count Louis of Nassau. After the peace of St. Germain, he was continually with him planning some attempt in favor of his country's freedom.

The Sea Beggars, meanwhile, received ever more additions to their forces, and in the spring of 1571 had a fleet consisting of a hundred vessels, large and small, probably manned by three or four thousand of as bold and enterprising a crew of freebooters as ever rendered any sea unsafe. About fifty of the ships usually had their trysting place in the English Channel, and near the Downs, whence they went in search of any Spanish vessels navigating the ocean. Others hovered between Dover and Calais, lying in wait for any of the enemy's ships going to or coming from Netherland ports, and patroling the German Ocean as far northward as the coasts of Norway.

It was again rumored that these Beggars planned a sudden attack upon the province of Zeeland, not merely for purposes of plunder, but with the intention of conquering and holding it for the prince. The Duke of Alba, frightened by these reports, and rendered cautious by the Beggars' petty successes at sea, hastened to increase the garrisons of Flushing, Veer, Zierikzee, and the Island of Schouwen. He even resolved to station 250 soldiers at Briel and other small towns, which garrisons, in case of an emergency, could be concentrated and directed against any threatened position. However, the duke soon regained his composure upon being informed that the Beggar Fleet, now cruising between Dover and Calais, consisted of only three large ships and eighteen small ones, poorly equipped and poorly manned. The temporary garrisons, therefore, were mostly withdrawn, and the

soldiers returned to their ordinary encampments, greatly to the relief and joy of residents of places where they had been quartered.

Still, Zeeland's stadholder—though having no more fear of a direct and immediate attack upon his province—advised the duke to destroy, at any price, the Beggars near Dover, he believing that a squadron of six warships at most would soon be able to gain an easy victory over the undisciplined pirates. He also thought that it would be an easy matter to rout a horde of pirates whose courage manifested itself only by plundering merchant ships and fishermen, and whose single ability consisted in emptying goblets of wine and carousing away the proceeds of their plunder. Bossu concurred with Wacken, and was also of opinion that half a dozen well-equipped and sufficiently-manned men-of-war could easily destroy a number of *boats* manned by undisciplined crews, and largely officered by nobles that had never passed an apprenticeship at sea, and that knew nothing about naval tactics. Alba, however, was not yet inclined to go to the expense of equipping a fleet for distant sea-service; and when rumors again began to fly that the Sea Beggars intended to surprise the Island of Schouwen, the duke wanted merely to increase the Spanish garrison of Zieriksee, the capital city of the island. The burghers of Zieriksee, however, refused to provide for the Spanish soldiers. Many hundreds of the city's inhabitants had—owing to the partial stoppage of the fisheries and the resultant damage caused to the city's commerce—been obliged to quit the town. The Spanish soldiers had at other times shown themselves so untractable in regard to food and shelter, furniture, and other necessaries, that burghers and soldiers had drawn swords against each other. It was even then feared and rumored that the dyke-workers would stop all work on the

dykes, thus abandoning the fertile island to the waves if the Spanish garrisons were not withdrawn.

That the Spanish authorities had good reason to be on their guard against surprises by the Sea Beggars, and against the activity of the leaders of the revolt, is plain from a letter of the prince, in the beginning of this year 1571, in which he wrote to Dr. Basius "that for very important reasons it was deemed necessary to employ all means to obtain possession of some harbor; that he was still of the opinion that the attempt against Enkhuizen and Hoorn should be tried as soon as the ice were gone. Further, that all other enterprises were now to be suspended, in hopes that the attempt against Hoorn and Enkhuizen would succeed."

But failures of the past had greatly discouraged the friends of liberty and progress, while the Sea Beggars themselves, though nominally acknowledging the authority of William the Silent and his admiral—De Lumbres—really followed their own free will, sailing wherever they listed. Only once in a great while could a part of them be assembled for some concerted act. They had not only to provide their own living, but were even required to contribute a large part of their spoils toward the general expenses of the war; hence, under these circumstances, they could assist at an expedition only after they had amassed enough booty to be able to live for some time upon the proceeds of their loot, and were ever obliged to return to privateering as soon as the proceeds of their plunder had been spent. This also explains why on one day there were scores of Beggar ships together, while one or two days later all had dispersed.

This contest was really a naval guerilla-war, where all partisans were actuated by the same leading ideas: revenge upon the enemy; freedom for the country. But nearly every

chief acted for himself, and all were handicapped by the necessity of providing for themselves, and for obtaining the means with which to support their men. Circumstances also rendered it even more imperative for the success of the cause to obtain some secure footing in the fatherland. Count Edzard of East Friesland, afraid of the threats of Alba and the menaces of the Emperor, did not dare longer openly to extend to the Sea Beggars the hospitality of his ports of Emden and Norden. Indeed, more than once he and his drosts had been obliged to take sharp measures against the Sea Beggars. He feared to lose his principality, especially as Philip of Spain had instructed his jurists in the Netherlands to investigate whether he did not also possess legal claims upon that refuge of his exiled Netherland subjects. On this account, therefore, the Sea Beggars, more than before, were compelled to go elsewhere. Bremen and Hamburg, though most favorable to their cause, were too far removed to be of much use; hence, the Beggars naturally selected the English harbors of Dover and the Downs; while in France they were always sure of a hearty reception by their friends at La Rochelle.

Those well-known Sea Beggar chiefs, Foeke Abels, Dirk Duivel, Jan Klaasz Spiegel, Dirk Geerlofsz Roobol, Nicolaes Ruychaver, Egbert and Jurrien Wybrants had equipped their vessels with the friendly assistance of the citizens of La Rochelle. Some of them again returned to the Netherland waters and the North Sea, and captured several Spanish merchantmen. Bossu then hastened to equip an expedition against them under the command of his vice-admiral, Boshuizen. Boshuizen, as will be told hereafter, routed them, and in the months of August and September, 1571, pursued some of the Beggar ships even as far as the port of Dover. This provoked the commander of the citadel to fire upon the

Spanish vessels, which probably saved those Beggars from capture or annihilation.

In April of the same year the Spanish authorities had expected a landing to be made at Briel, on the Island of Voorne, and one on Walcheren. The civil guard of Middelburg was constantly kept under arms, the cannon on the walls put in position, and Alba received appeals for reinforcements. A few yachts were equipped for scouting purposes, because it was believed that half a hundred Beggar ships, reported to be congregating upon the south coast of England, intended landing on the Island of Walcheren. The stadholder of Holland, after many futile requests, was therefore ordered to go in search of them. Owing to the strained relations, however, existing at that time between England and Spain, and to the English distrust of Alba, the English feared that the Spanish armament in North Holland against the Sea Beggars was in reality directed against England, therefore the government of Queen Elizabeth took measures at once. The redoubtable naval preparations of Alba and his officials, as well as the augmenting of the garrisons, previously mentioned, prevented the Sea Beggars—supposing they really had the intention—from undertaking anything against "the paradise of Zeeland," or even against Briel, where measures had also been taken to receive properly the expected invaders. Accident, not design, was destined to shape the first successful blow for the liberation of the country.

The possession of the Island of Ameland was deemed too valuable by the Frisian Sea Beggars to permit the Spaniards undisputed occupation of it. Emden and Norden, however desirable as harbors of refuge and marts for spoils, were too uncertain, owing to the varying moods of Count Edzard. That he was favorable to them, assisting them as much as he dared, was well known among the Beggars. But his fear

of the powerful enemies of the Netherland freebooters, often coupled with their own imprudence and lawless acts, caused him to take measures at times that were likely to scare them away, rather than attract them to his ports. This also explains their constant efforts to regain and to retain the comparatively unimportant Island of Ameland, especially at a time of the year when ice and storms rendered permanent and safe retreat absolutely necessary.

After being forced to abandon the island in the latter part of January, 1571, the Sea Beggars again equipped an expedition at Norden, and on February 18th Barthold Entens Van Mentheda, Claes Ruychaver, and Ellert Vlierhop, with three ships and about a hundred and fifty men, set sail for Ameland. On Tuesday, February 20th, they arrived in the Vlie, and lay at anchor during two days; then plundered a few merchantmen, and went "every time on land with seventy or eighty men, causing more damage upon the land than they had ever caused before." After the capture of a few more merchantmen, they proceeded to Ameland, where they arrived on the 22d of the same month. Here they landed one hundred and twenty men, and with flying standards they marched against the castle of the exiled noble Pieter Van Cammingha, now occupied by a Spanish garrison. The Sea Beggars demanded its surrender in the name of the prince; and, at the refusal of its commander, they immediately stormed the stronghold. Repulsed, they retreated to the village of Ballum, near by, where they had a few hours' rest. Toward evening they marched upon Hollum, the southernmost village on the island. Here they encamped for the night. Many of their number passed the time drinking and carousing, until, at ten o'clock the following morning, February 23d, the Spanish troops coming unexpectedly upon them, a great part of the Sea Beggars were too much stupe-

fied to be capable of resistance: a large number were killed on the spot. Others were drowned in their efforts to swim to the ships. A few were taken prisoners, among them the sixteen-year-old Sea Beggar Ulrich Poppes of Norden. But few made their escape. Among the slain were Entens' lieutenant, Wibo Tjarrels of Bolsward, and Pibo Harda, an expatriated Frisian nobleman. In 1568, Harda. one of the signers of the "Covenant of the Nobles," had been banished by Alba's Council of Blood, and his possessions confiscated. He had also been obliged to leave wife and children bereft of everything,—now wandering along the country roads, suffering the pangs of direst poverty. On March 17th, 1567, in company with Sjoert Van Beyma and a number of other nobles, mostly Frisian, Harda had forcibly entered the room of Jacob De la Torre at Amsterdam, secretary of the secret council at Brussels. He had been sent by the Regent Margaret to Amsterdam, to adjust matters there. Expecting to glean important State-secrets from the secretary's papers, the nobles took them from De la Torre, threatened to kill him, and kept him a prisoner all night. After Brederode's expulsion from Amsterdam, Harda went to East Friesland, enlisted subsequently in Count Louis' army, and, as a captain, had share in the victory of Heiligerlee. He, however, suffered defeat at Jemmingen, and was among the few that escaped the slaughter, and joined the forces of the Sea Beggars. Tired of his exile, and averse to the rough life of the Sea Beggars, Harda joined them in this expedition only with the purpose to assist in the capture of Ameland, and from there to have a distant view of the dyke-girt coasts of the beloved country, the soil of which he was not permitted to touch, containing as it did everything he held most precious in life. Poor young Ulrich Poppes, under threats of death, was forced by the Spaniards to nail the heads of Harda and

two of his dead companions to the gallows, and was also obliged to act as executioner of a captured Englishman that had served under Entens.

In December, 1570, the prince sent the celebrated poet and philosopher, Dirk Volkerts Coornhert, to Emden, to try to influence Count Edzard of East Friesland to rescind his order for the confiscation of the property of some Sea Beggars; also to extend further hospitality to them. After much hesitation the count consented, but the intrigues of the enemy soon caused Edzard to change his course again. In the spring of 1571 he ordered the imprisonment of Yonker Willem Van Blois Van Treslong, one of the most eminent Sea Beggars, a prominent member of the Netherland nobility, and a lineal descendant of the ancient counts of Blois in France. While Treslong's lieutenant, Roobol, was busy at Emden superintending the equipment of two vessels for the service of the Sea Beggars, he also was imprisoned upon being accused of lawless conduct. After fourteen weeks of incarceration Treslong was discharged under bail, on condition of not leaving Emden till he had been cleared before the court. After waiting more than three months for his trial to begin, and tired of a life of inactivity, he boarded one of the Beggar ships lying at Emden. He directed a letter to Count Edzard, in which he notified him that he would present himself as soon as summoned to appear before the court. He thereupon sailed away, joined other Beggars, and a few months later was the prime mover in the successful assault upon Brielle, which resulted in the subsequent liberation of the country.

In the month of February, 1571, however, some time before Treslong's imprisonment, nineteen Sea-Beggar chiefs had been permitted to equip their ships at Emden and Norden, which showed conclusively that the Count of East

Friesland was actually favorable to the cause of Netherland liberty, his opposition to the Sea Beggars having obviously been actuated only by fear of their powerful enemies.

To be prepared against an attack by the Sea Beggars upon Delfsyl, Robles had repaired its defenses,—much damaged by the great inundation of All Saints' Eve—that terrible night of October 31st, 1570. For this work he impressed the Groningen farmers, who nearly all were favorable to the independence of their country.

To dislodge the Sea Beggars from their East Friesland trysting-places, Robles also remonstrated, in the name of his chief, with Count Edzard. The latter, on March 6th, 1571, not only prohibited the Netherland privateers from entering or staying in his harbors, but he even equipped vessels against them, which, strange to say, always failed to find the Beggar ships. Once in a while his captains had succeeded in capturing and hanging a few so-called Beggars, but they had always been individuals that had committed actual crimes against the law, so they were executed under the convenient appellation " Sea Beggars." This satisfied their enemies, and, on the other hand, caused the Beggars no great harm. When, however, upon Alba's remonstrance with the German Emperor, the Westphalian circle interfered, it ordered Edzard absolutely to rid the Ems of freebooters, and to refuse positively any further assistance or hospitality to them. Entens and the few of his associates in arms, who had covertly been permitted to stay, were obliged to depart for a time, and seek quarters elsewhere.

If the Sea Beggars were thus harassed in foreign countries, they were fairly successful in their fatherland, so far as obtaining plunder is concerned. Their principal points of attack were Friesland and North Holland. These they invaded from the Zuiderzee, the Wadden, and the Vlie, where

they had again taken up their abode. In the beginning of March, 1571, they captured thirty-one merchantmen in the Vlie, and again showed their lawless disposition by subjecting to ransom eight vessels provided with safe conducts, granted to them by Count Louis of Nassau. On March 12th they followed up their recent success at sea by effecting a landing near the city of Monnickendam, upon the coast of the Zuiderzee, and opposite the Island of Marken. About ten o'clock at night two of the Beggars knocked at the North gate, saying they were well-known burghers of the town, whom an accident had caused to detain, and who now requested to be admitted. The wife of the gate-keeper opened the gate; and hardly had she done so when three hundred well-armed Sea Beggars suddenly entered the city, occupied the North gate, the city hall, and the principal inns; stationed a guard at the town-bell to prevent any one from alarming the surrounding country, took possession of the streets, removed the prison-keys from the turnkey, liberated five of their friends, plundered the house of the bailiff of Waterland, and looted the residence of every prominent partisan of Spain. To prevent the people from pursuing them the Beggars also set fire to different parts of the town, captured a few rich residents, for the purpose of exacting a ransom and as hostages, and, by the merry sound of drum and flute, returned to their vessels. The city of Medenblik was kept in constant fear, and several villages in its neighborhood agreed to pay them regular monthly contributions.

This was undoubtedly the expedition referred to by Dr. Velius in his chronicles of Hoorn, in which he mentions the following: "1571. Commencement of March. The Sea Beggars arrived before Texel with three great warships and twenty-three yachts, and took a large fleet of vessels, to the number of thirty-one, ransoming them for much money.

Among them were eight ships, having 'passports' of Count Louis; but, nevertheless, they were not exempted. The sword of hunger was sharp. A few days later they arrived at night-time before Monikendam, plundered a number of dwellings, and carried off some rich burghers, whom they subsequently set free, after payment of a large ransom. They did the same in the village of Schellingwoude in Waterland. They also appeared before Medenblik, and on the Noorderdyk, and caused so much fear among the people that several villages entered into a secret agreement with them, and paid them a monthly contribution. Our magistrates kept close watch day and night."

If the Sea Beggars—outlawed exiles—were thus instrumental in causing damage to their countrymen, the Spanish soldiers, paid instruments of the royal power, were not less so. One instance of their misconduct will be sufficient. On March 22d, 1571, the local priest of Grave, an ardent partisan of Spain, used very plain language to Alba, regarding the conduct of the Spanish garrison stationed in the castle there, when he said that they "consumed the flesh and blood of the poor, the widows, and the orphans. The burghers of Grave—pious, simple, and honest people—had been brought to the verge of desperation. The soldiers, dissatisfied with the country, threw themselves upon the good as well as the bad, plundering the churches, and, like devils incarnate, respecting things neither sacred nor profane."

On March 25th the Sea Beggars left the coast of North Holland and attacked the Island of Texel. They burnt the dwelling of Boshuizen,—Alba's vice-admiral, who was also schout of the island,—the castle, three more large houses, and a monastery; captured a number of barges, and rested from their labors only after the church bell had long before

struck the hour of midnight. On the 27th they declared themselves satisfied, after having extorted the payment of a heavy contribution, to buy off "what they might yet intend to do." Two days later, on March 29th, seven hundred of their number suddenly invaded the village of Petten, partly sacking it, and desisting only after having been paid a large amount of money. Thus they treated several prosperous villages near the sea-shore, the authorities absolutely powerless to resist; while the people were either favorably disposed toward them or else too much afraid to offer resistance. Their boldness and the success of their raids soon began to fill the people of The Hague with fears of a Beggar assembly, which induced some of them to leave that city for more interior towns.

It has already been remarked that Lumbres, the admiral of the Sea Beggars, generally passed his time on shore, planning with Count Louis and his French friends of La Rochelle for the liberation of the oppressed Netherland provinces, and for the humiliation of Spain. His ships, meanwhile, continued to render the waters of France, England, the Netherlands, and Spain itself unsafe for any Spanish craft. They ventured even far into the ocean in quest of booty. In April, 1571, the admiral himself conducted a squadron of five Beggar ships from Plymouth to La Rochelle. Two months later he was at Paris; he thought he could be of greater service there to the cause of his country than by nominally commanding a fleet of undisciplined privateers. Brederode, his lieutenant, anchored during the same month with a fleet of twenty-two vessels before Dover. Here Hembyze, a prominent Beggar-captain and nobleman of Ghent, was temporarily imprisoned. Before long almost the entire Beggar Fleet—about a hundred sails strong—congregated in the English Channel, where they disposed of their

booty in the Cinque Ports, upon the Isle of Wight, and in other harbors, to the utmost chagrin of the Spanish ambassador, De Spes, but to the great advantage of the inhabitants of those harbors. On this account the English government, notwithstanding its many decrees and prohibitions against them, covertly continued to favor the freebooters and to admit them to its harbors, although it strongly prohibited English sailors from enlisting on their fleet.

The Frisian Beggars, also, seldom straying far, continued most active. After being driven away from the Island of Ameland, they resolved to pay a visit to the northern grietenyen—districts—of Friesland, there to seek revenge for their last defeat. During the night of April 13th a division of their forces, seventy or eighty strong, set foot in East-Dongeradeel, where they immediately began their customary tactics. They had already plundered and destroyed a large amount of property when they were suddenly confronted by such an overpowering body of assailants, that they were forced to beat a hasty retreat. The grietman —head of the district—Doede Van Syrxma, the energetic successor of the unfortunate Rintze Van Aytta, who resided at Metslawier, had speedily been informed of the arrival of the marauders, and without delay had sounded the alarm. The country people and the inhabitants of the neighboring villages, understanding the significance of the alarm, forthwith armed themselves, and under the command of their vigorous grietman, united against the Sea Beggars. The latter, too few in numbers, and encumbered with their booty, deemed it wiser to attempt no resistance; they retreated precipitately to their ships. But they were not the men to be easily balked in their purpose, and their necessity doubtless forced them to a repetition of their interrupted "shore walk." The following night they landed on the

dykes of Ferwerderadeel, in the jurisdiction of the grietman Pelgrom Ten Indyck, a most obnoxious partisan of Spanish tyranny. The secretary of the grieteny, Foppe Gabbes, then wrote the subjoined account of the night-visit to the President and Royal Council of Friesland:

"Honorable, wise, prudent, and highly-learned Sirs:

"I, the undersigned, humbly commending myself to your good graces, have, by the present (may God preserve us) to inform you, my Lords, that last night there arrived within Ferwerderadeel a number of sea-rovers, or pirates, who robbed the church at Ferwerd of silver and gold, demolished and tore the furniture in the grietman's house, causing much damage to furniture, clothing and jewelry—which they took with them. They also captured, bound, and took with them our judge Sjordt Rytskes. My wife and I escaped, but with the loss of everything. According to one Thys Sipkes, who—as he says—counted them when they were returning along the sea-dyke, the number of the pirates amounted to one hundred and nine. It happened after two o'clock, and when the guard was being relieved.

"With this I commend you to the Lord.

"Written at Ferwerd, the 15th day of April, Anno 1571, by your obedient

F. Gabbes."

This report had been written in obedience to an order, dated April 17th, 1570, issued by the stadholder of Friesland, the Count of Megen, in which he said: "Every time that any violence takes place in your jurisdiction you will immediately send a correct, pertinent specification of the history of the deed;" to which he added the threat: "We intend properly to punish and correct you as the occasion may require," if the magistrates should be negligent in re-

porting similar matters, and if the stadholder should hear of the case "through the information of strangers."

De Robles had better success. His soldiers routed a number of Frisian Sea Beggars, whom the soldiers surprised while the freebooters were at work on the Island of Borkum, one of their lurking-places in the mouth of the Ems. Away from the island they were driven, after having lost several prisoners.

At last the Spanish governor-general perceived the necessity of taking decisive action against the Beggar Fleet, congregating in English waters, no matter what the English government might think of it. On May 23d the duke wrote Bossu, and directed him to proceed to the English coast, there to chase away or to destroy these persistent enemies. Indeed, on the 21st a strong squadron had sailed from the port of Amsterdam, to free the Zeeland waters from the dread presence of the freebooters. On the 25th two insignificant encounters took place near Briel and Zierikzee, in which the Sea Beggars gained some slight advantage. On June 1st the Sea Beggars stationed on the English coast attacked twenty-eight ships, loaded chiefly with salt for Holland. This resulted in a heated battle, many on both sides being wounded.

About this time a project was reported to be on foot, the knowledge of it probably having prompted Alba's order to Bossu to seek the Beggar Fleet in the English Channel and on the English coast. It was rumored that those of La Rochelle had leagued themselves with the Sea Beggars to carry the war into Spain, and from there to cross the ocean, conquer the Island of San Domingo, and cause as much damage as possible to the Spanish dominions and Spanish commerce in the New World. Philip of Spain was informed of the preparations for the undertaking by one of his secret

agents, several of whom he maintained in France, as well as everywhere else where Spanish interests seemed to render their presence desirable. Accordingly, on June 4th, 1571, a powerful squadron sailed from La Rochelle ostensibly for Spain, where, it was said, its assistance was eagerly waited for by more than twenty-five thousand Spaniards,—possibly in Catalonia and Barcelona,—who were as desirous of freedom and a more liberal system of government as were their fellow-subjects in the Netherlands. The project, however, was not carried out; nevertheless, Philip had been awakened, and the subsequent augmenting and better equipping of the Spanish navy, as well as more rigorous measures against the Sea Beggars by the Spanish governor-general in the Netherlands, may have resulted from this reported venture.

On June 18th Alba received information that sixteen of the Sea Beggars' ships had set sail for Emden, to sell their booty there. He immediately ordered Bossu to follow; but Bossu's wife having died recently, the command of the fleet devolved upon Vice-Admiral Boshuizen, who had a personal grudge against the Sea Beggars, as they had plundered and burnt his house on the Island of Texel in the spring of this year 1571.

His squadron was to be sixteen ships strong. But five of them not being ready, he was obliged to go to sea with eleven vessels only; more than sufficient, however, to defeat the inadequately-equipped ships of the Sea Beggars. On June 23d, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Boshuizen sighted the enemy, who had cast anchor in the mouth of the Ems. The Sea Beggars resolved to accept battle, and soon the two fleets were engaged.

Unfortunately for the Sea Beggars, Robles, upon Alba's orders, had despatched four caravels, manned with two

hundred musketeers, to the assistance of the royal fleet. After their third discharge, the Sea Beggars, unable to stand the murderous fire, sought safety in flight. Boshuizen pursued them and took eight of their ships; Robles took another, armed with four pieces. Four escaped into the sea, the few remaining ones seeking safety between the foreign ships in the harbor of Emden. The number of Sea Beggars killed in the fight was considerable, many others also being drowned in their efforts to save themselves by swimming to the shore or to other ships; while twelve prisoners on Boshuizen's fleet awaited the pleasure of Alba. On June 30th he ordered his admiral to hang without exception all the prisoners to the yard-arm of his ship, in full sight of the city of Emden, but first to torture the principal ones, and to send him the confessions that the pain should force from the victims.

The sentence was executed, but the outrage so enraged the burghers of Emden that they hastened to the dyke, fully armed, and encouraged one another to consider Boshuizen's people as common enemies, and to kill them should they approach in boats or come on shore. Count Edzard vainly protested against this violation of his territory. Boshuizen answered the count that, if it displeased him, he was at liberty to complain about it to the Duke of Alba. The victorious Boshuizen thereupon returned to the Zuiderzee, divided his booty at Enkhuizen, and now began a cruise on the North Sea in search of the rest of the Beggar Fleet. He found them, seventeen ships strong, under cover of Dover Castle. He dispersed their forces, and was prevented from annihilating them only by the active intervention of the English commander of the fort. Thereupon he went to Zeeland, whose waters he also cleared of the presence of the Netherland freebooters.

Several historians, when relating these and other defeats of the Sea Beggars, dilate on what Spain could have done had it been in real earnest about destroying them. But these historians seem to forget that the Sea Beggars were only privateers, their object the taking of merchantmen, the gaining of a living by plunder; not fighting against navies. They were an undisciplined, and, to a certain extent, a lawless body of privateers, more inclined to run away than to gain a bootless victory. Had the Spaniards been at first continually victorious in their encounters with the Sea Beggars, and rendered their existence more precarious than now, it is more than probable that necessity would have forced them to become better organized and disciplined. They would have become soldiers as well as freebooters. Also, as long as there was an enemy to fight, they would have held close together, instead of continually separating and dividing their forces. Instead of spending their uncertain plunder in wild orgies, they would have procured better equipped and more-adequately armed vessels, able to cope with the strongest of warships as well as to chase and attack feeble merchantmen. Freebooters not from choice, but from necessity, they were, first of all, exiled patriots. An alien oppressor had driven them away from their country, and had rendered it impossible for them to stay in it. Many influential and able men, now aloof from them, would have joined their ranks, and the Sea Beggars would have received that pecuniary assistance that the people and the exiles were ever ready to extend toward any promising project. Strong indeed must have been the fleet that could have destroyed their organization, and on an element where the Netherlanders were more at home than their Spanish oppressors. Their vessels were now, as a rule, small, often badly manned and badly provided. One of their best and

largest ships, "De Klok," which had been added to the Beggar Fleet by the desertion of her commander and crew, measured only two hundred and thirty tons. An eye-witness, during his captivity in East Friesland in 1570, declared that the largest Beggar ship he saw there did not exceed one hundred and twenty tons. Blois Van Treslong, in 1571, had bought for six thousand guilders a fully-equipped ship of a hundred and eighty tons burden, armed with sixteen "gotelingen," or small pieces of artillery. What the Sea Beggars were capable of, they demonstrated two and three years later, when, under efficient leadership, and with better discipline and organization, they defeated Spanish armadas far superior to theirs in number and in size of ships, armament, and crews. They could have done the same, and would have done so now, had the enemy left them no rest, as it would have become absolutely necessary for them to unite their forces, and submit absolutely to authority for purposes of defense, and possibly for conquest.

After every defeat the Sea Beggars, not at all discouraged, unitedly or separately resumed their work, and soon became as much feared as before. Alba himself, notwithstanding their crushing defeat on June 23d, now believed so little in their suppression that, even after the news of their defeat had reached him, he still augmented the garrison of Flushing with three companies of Walloon soldiers, fearing an attack upon that city by his most irrepressible and relentless of opponents.

Soon after their last defeat the Sea Beggars took four richly-laden Hamburg merchantmen, whose commander was choked to death by order of De Lumbres, possibly out of revenge for the share that he had had in Broeck's execution in that city. He thereupon took his prizes to Emden,

where he disposed of them. Similar lawless acts were not likely to cement the friendship between the Beggars and the people of Hamburg. That the Hamburgers, however, did not confound the cause with the perpetration of the above outrage, is plain from a letter written by Viglius Van Aytta. He said in it that the German people along the sea-coast continued to make common cause with the freebooters, and would advance no money to be expended in fighting them. Count Adolph of Holstein testified to the same effect in a letter written by him on August 18th, 1572, in which he said: "Den in den stetten Hamburgh und Bremen die Kauffleute und der gemeine man den rebellen dermassen zugethan das sie wieder dieselbige so hoch und guet sie auch versichert werden mügen kein geldt ausleihen wollen." (For in the cities of Hamburg and Bremen the merchants and the common people are so much in favor of the rebels that, however good the security offered, they will not lend money to be used against them.)

In the beginning of July, 1571, during Treslong's captivity, and while the Sea Beggars were in disgrace in East Friesland, Count Lumey—a cousin of Hendrik Van Brederode—visited the city of Emden. Lumey was a prominent Sea Beggar, under whose leadership, a few months later, the corner-stone of Netherland liberty was laid. Upon his visit to Emden, Lumey was attended by a body-guard of Walloon and Flemish soldiers. Count Edzard, not at all pleased with the notoriety that would surely follow this ostentatious visit to his city, was afraid to allow this prominent rebel chief to stay. He therefore ordered Count Lumey to leave the inn, "De Drie Vergulde Haringen," where he had taken up his abode, and to find another retreat. The count and his body-guard then left for Hamburg, where the city authorities permitted him to equip two ships and to enlist two

hundred men. With these valuable additions to the forces of the Sea Beggars Lumey went to sea, inflicted great damage upon Spanish commerce, and two months later joined the Beggar Fleet in the English Channel.

The Imperial Council at Spires, on December 25th, 1570, had adopted resolutions in regard to the Sea Beggars. This greatly pleased Philip's governor-general in the Netherlands, as he thought those edicts would forever deter their German sympathizers from giving them aid. The resolutions were sweeping, and declared that a stop should be put to the depredations of the freebooters, and that the emperor should be requested to appeal to Queen Elizabeth and other potentates, and that the Burgundian, Westphalian, and Nether-Saxony circles of the empire should convene a congress for the purpose of devising means to prevent the freebooters from congregating in German waters. After many preliminary conferences and resolutions, and constant protests of Alba to the emperor to respect Germany's obligations as a neutral state, the deputies of two circles met at the city of Groningen, to devise ways and means to suppress the Sea Beggars. But the third of the circles refused to send delegates; it was averse to taking measures against its own kinsmen in favor of Spanish domination in a Germanic country. On August 16th, 1571, it was resolved by the delegates of the two circles to equip a fleet, and appoint an admiral for the purpose of clearing the coasts and waters of Germany from the presence of the Sea Beggars.

On September 9th of the same year Alba requested the emperor to declare null and void all commissions ever made out by William the Silent, and to prohibit him issuing any more. Also to order the Counts of East Friesland not to admit any more Sea Beggars into their states and waters, and to order the reluctant circle, as soon as possible, to

contribute its contingent of ships for the fleet about to be equipped against the Sea Beggars.

The deputies, assembled at Groningen, resolved to leave to the emperor the appointment of the admiral; he was to be a German prince, whose territory bounded on the North Sea or on the Baltic. Alba recommended Count Adolph of Holstein to the emperor, and desired his own stadholder of Holland, Bossu, as vice-admiral. He also informed the emperor that his contingent of thirteen vessels was ready. The seven ships to be furnished—according to the resolutions adopted at Groningen by the maritime cities of both of the other circles—were to have a vice-admiral of their own. Count Bossu was to be in partial command only, in case the fleets should unite for concerted action against the Sea Beggars.

It was further resolved between the emperor and Alba, to have the Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishop of Munster, and the Duke of Gulick send councilors to investigate the complaints of the Spanish governor-general against the Sea Beggars. On August 20th, 1571, the investigation was to begin. Alba's deputies were attended by a large number of loyal Frisians, and accompanied by several captured Sea Beggars, whom Alba had most graciously permitted to live for this purpose. The councilors of the bishops, however, were no more inclined to be used as tools in favor of Spanish domination in the Netherlands than were those of the Duke of Gulick. They positively refused therefore to investigate, and, without reaching any decision, they separated. Alba, nothing daunted, on September 2d, 1571, importuned the emperor to convoke another court of investigation to begin immediate action, and to advise measures conformable with its findings. This second investigation was no more fruitful of results than the first had been. The German

people, and several German princes and bishops as well, strongly favored the cause of the Sea Beggars. They were —more secretly perhaps, but cordially as ever—assisted in the German maritime cities, and by the Counts of East Friesland, who, on February 12th, 1572, received some sharp reprimands from the German Emperor, the father-in-law of the King of Spain.

In England, also, complaints about the Sea Beggars, by the Spanish ambassador, De Spes, began to bear fruit, although their own imprudent acts possibly had as much to do with this as the Spanish remonstrances. Lord Cobham, Governor of Dover Castle, continued to favor them, and was even publicly accused of coöperating with them. It was also rumored that the Sea Beggars in the month of August, 1571, were preparing a powerful expedition to Spanish America, under the leadership of Count Louis of Nassau or De Lumbres, for which purpose they had, at Dover, equipped a fleet of seven large ships, and a number of smaller ones,—about twenty in all—manned with a numerous crew, continually augmented by exiled Netherlanders. In anticipation of the date of the expected sailing, this fleet kept close to the Channel, and meantime caused enormous losses to Spanish commerce. This may have been the fleet, parts of which were protected in August and September, 1571, by the cannon of Dover Castle against the victorious squadron of Boshuisen, that Alba had sent out to destroy the Sea Beggars in the Channel.

But the Hamburg and English merchants united their protests with those of Spain, and on September 20th, 1571, the Privy Council ordered Lord Cobham and the commander at the Isle of Wight to keep the freebooters away, to confiscate their goods and ships, and to prevent any intercourse between them and the people along the coast. A few days

later the lord warden of the Cinque Ports wrote to the authorities at Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, Rye, Winchelsea, and Hastings to take good care that no more provisions were conveyed from their ports to the ships of the Sea Beggars; while on October 21st, immediately after the great Spanish victory over the Turks at Lepanto, the orders of the Privy Council became more stringent, and some freebooters were even condemned to imprisonment.

Chapter Four.

Under Baron Lumey.

DE LUMBRES, meanwhile, had resigned as admiral of the Sea Beggars, and on October 26th, 1571, was on the way to France. According to the Spanish ambassador, the late admiral carried with him, as his share in the proceeds of one year's plunder, the amount of fifty thousand ducats, with which, it was said, he intended to purchase an estate in France. He did not, however, relinquish his country's cause, but continued to serve William the Silent for several years as negotiator with the French court and nobles. Events showed that he was much better fitted as a diplomatist than as the admiral of a fleet of undisciplined privateers.

De Lumbres' successor in office was William, Baron of Lumey and Count of La Marck, one of the most inveterate haters of Spanish domination in the Netherlands. He had sworn not to cut his hair or nails till he should have avenged the death of the Counts of Egmont and Hoorn, who, on June 5th, 1568, with many other prominent Netherlanders, had been beheaded at Brussels by order of Alba. On account of the size of his nails, Lumey's people familiarly nicknamed him *Langnagel*, or "Longnail." From the very first he had been one of William the Silent's most ardent supporters; had rendered valuable services to the country's cause during the prince's expedition of 1568, and after its failure had withdrawn for a time from public life. But in 1571, tired of looking on and doing nothing, he had joined the fleet of the

Sea Beggars with two ships, bought and equipped by him at Hamburg at his own expense. This fact, as well as his high social position and historic name, his great riches, his dauntless courage, and great force of character at once secured for him a prominent position among the chiefs of the Sea Beggars, and possibly Lumey's intractability influenced De Lumbres' resignation as much as his dislike for the sea. The retiring admiral preferred Schoonewal as his successor in office, and even requested Count Louis of Nassau to have him appointed admiral. But Lumey could not be repressed, and the prince, in October, 1571, commissioned the Lord of Lumey as his lieutenant-admiral of the fleet of the Sea Beggars.

At the beginning of winter the new admiral had under his immediate command forty Sea-Beggar ships, hovering in the English Channel, chiefly between the Downs and Dover, while a number of others were preparing to join him from La Rochelle and Denmark. To appease the English government somewhat, the new admiral promised to indemnify the Hamburg and English merchants that had suffered at the hands of his people. At the same time, he gave assurance that he would, as much as possible, keep his Sea Beggars within bounds. Accordingly, he continually delayed his departure from the English coast. This was not as difficult as it appeared to be. The relations between England and Spain had again become strained, owing to the secret intrigues of the Spanish government with the Scotch. On account of this Elizabeth might soon need allies. She was, therefore, not then disposed to estrange the Beggars, yet, at the same time she wished to show the Spanish King that her friendship toward him was worth something regarding her facilitating the subjugation of his revolting subjects.

Lumey tarried until the beginning of February, 1572,

always securing delay by protesting and making excuses. At the same time, he was preparing, with all his might, for the supreme effort that, in the spring of 1572, with the reputed assistance of the French government, was to be made against the continuation of Spanish domination in the Netherlands. The share of the Sea Beggars in this would consist in the taking of Briel, Enkhuizen, Flushing, or other Netherland seaports.

The Sea-Beggar captains, in imitation of Jan Van Troyen, Nicholas Ruychaver, and others, did not altogether abandon their individual enterprises in the Netherland waters. The following, related by Dr. Velius in his chronicles of the city of Hoorn, is only one instance of many : " 1572, January 29th. The Sea Beggars, under Captain Gerrit Bastiaensz Van Gorkum, arrived, and, near the Island of Marken, took the marketship of Hoorn, belonging to one Jan Clomp, which was returning from Amsterdam. They conveyed it to the Vlie, taking the passengers with them, some of whom they treated badly, and forced them into promising to pay more for their ransom than they were able to."

While the Sea Beggars were thus active in other parts of the continent, their Frisian brothers were not less so in their own waters. All along the Friesland coasts the Spanish authorities had long before been obliged to station watches day and night to sound the alarm immediately should the Beggars undertake a " landganck." This constant watching was not only troublesome and expensive to the people of the much impoverished coast-districts, but was also unpleasant for the watchers themselves, as is instantly seen in a letter from the royal president and council of Friesland to the governor-general, dated January 23d, 1572, in regard to the stretch of country between the villages of Makkum and Sixbierum.

The Frisian Sea Beggars had taken up their headquarters on the Island of Terschelling, a few miles distant from the northern coast of Friesland. Thence they often undertook, with ten or twelve light vessels, marauding expeditions to the Frisian continent. Relative to their guarding against those depredations, the above authorities wrote, that it was: "not very well possible to prevent them, as it was difficult during these long and cold winter nights to keep watch on the sea-dykes, because the same are very much broken, owing to the inundation of the year LXX. [1570]; neither are there any houses along the sea-dykes where those ordered to watch could take shelter and protect themselves against storm, rain, wind, and cold."

Three weeks later they informed Robles, the vice-stadholder of Friesland, and commander of the royal forces in the provinces of Friesland and Groningen, that, for some time, the Sea Beggars had, with seven ships, been hovering about Hinlopen, and had captured several merchantmen passing by. The letter continued that there was reason to suppose that "if no measures are taken against this, they may commit some act, as a consequence whereof the poor residents of this or other sections of the country may be plunged into sorrow, and suffer irreparable damage." This pitiful cry for assistance was at last answered, perhaps because the Beggar chief Bruyn of Utrecht had again landed upon the Island of Texel, and had placed it under heavy contributions.

Robles now ordered the Spanish captain Moncheau to take from the temporary garrison of Harlingen one hundred and fifty soldiers and to attack the Sea Beggars. The freebooters, meanwhile, had gathered in the Vlie, awaiting reinforcements from their associates congregated in the English Channel. Seven of the ships answered the call

from their comrades in the Vlie, but the ice in the narrow channels between the islands prevented the junction, and the auxiliaries were forced to return to English waters, losing two of their ships.

The ice also prevented Moncheau from immediately executing his orders; and he was obliged to wait several days before being able to sail. On March 4th, 1572, the ice at last permitted him to leave the harbor of Harlingen with five ships; and at two o'clock in the afternoon of March 5th he was already engaged with the Sea Beggars, who had intrenched themselves on an island behind eleven redoubts of sand. The battle lasted a day and a night, without any advantage gained on either side. The following day the Beggars resolved to quit the Vlie, as it was impossible for them to gain any booty so long as the Spanish troops were stationed there.

In sailing away, one of the Beggar ships, under command of the intrepid Spierinck, lagging behind, was attacked by a powerful Spanish vessel. A fearful cannonade followed, and for a long while was kept up on both sides. The Spanish commander finally, after having lost many of his crew and soldiers, at last ordered a retreat. The soldiers, enraged by their losses, threatened to drown the commander if he did not continue the fight. He replied that he would employ all his ability as a sailor to bring the ships together, and, once boarded, even Satan himself would not be able to separate them. The firing was renewed, and the vessels again approached each other. The grappling irons were thrown, the Spaniards boarded the Beggar, and a terrific fight of man against man ensued. The first Spanish boarders were forced back to their own vessel, but superior numbers and discipline gained the day. Spierinck, seeing that everything was lost, and not wishing to fall a prisoner into Spanish

hands, threw a couple of bags of money overboard, and ordered one of his crew to run his sword through him. After some hesitation and threats the man obeyed, and Spierinck was saved the disgrace of captivity, the rack, or the gallows. Some of the survivors on board his vessel threw themselves into the icy waters, hoping to escape by swimming. But nearly all were drowned. Besides Spierinck and his lieutenant,—Gerrit Van Gorkum,—thirteen of the crew were killed, and twenty-eight were captured alive. The heads of the killed were severed from their bodies and salted. That of Spierinck, the dead commander, was marked for future identification, by cutting the ear. At the victorious entrance of their captors into Groningen the prisoners were forced to carry the heads of their fallen comrades, and to present them as trophies to Robles. Thereupon the captives themselves were cruelly tortured, and subsequently executed as a warning to other rebels. But hardly had Robles' forces left the Vlie before three Beggar ships again appeared there, taking a vessel, loaded with butter and other provisions, and hanging the bailiff of the island to a mast—for having rendered assistance to the soldiers of the enemy.

Notwithstanding Alba's threats, and the emperor's reprimands, Count Edzard continued more or less openly to favor the Sea Beggars. Only when temporizing became for the moment absolutely impossible, he assumed great severity, and proceeded more or less rigorously against the exiled freebooters. Many Beggar ships under Treslong, Bruyn, Ruychaver, Gerrit Van Gorkum, Roobol, Barthold Entens Van Mentheda, Homme, and Duco Hettinga, Jan Abels, and many others continued their periodic visits to the waters of East Friesland, always certain of a friendly reception by the burghers of Emden, Norden, and other harbors along the rivers and sea-coasts. A number of Sea-Beggar captains,

as well as other officers and common sailors, had their families and kinsmen there. Four of their captains always took up their abode at the inn, "The Arms of Holland," whenever they happened to visit Emden.

The boldness of the Sea Beggars, and their successful raids far into the country, began to discourage even so energetic and resourceful a man as De Robles. A few months previously, in October, 1571, the Beggars had captured the wife, the sister, and the son of Andreas Van Anderlecht, steward of the Count of Megen, stadholder of Friesland. Later they captured a Delfsyl marketship, from which they took two wealthy burghers of Groningen and ten from other places, for whom they demanded a ransom of a thousand crowns. A few days after the last-mentioned battle in the Vlie, the Beggars of Hero Van Hettinga and Jelte Van Eelsma surprised three rich residents of the Bildt in Friesland. And thus it continued day after day; no wealthy friend of the government was any longer certain of his liberty, unless he kept within walled and garrisoned towns. The Frisian Sea Beggars, especially, had established a veritable reign of terror for all within their province that did not embrace the cause of their country's freedom.

At the beginning of the year 1572, Prince William the Silent intended to undertake something important, but various causes, such as the uncertainty of his foreign allies, and his customary lack of funds, handicapped him. The exiles and other friends of the cause, tired of continually contributing for attempts and expeditions that always resulted in failure, closed their purses. Some of the agents, also, sent by the prince to obtain contributions, caused bad feeling at times among the exiles, owing to the haughty and insolent manner in which they attempted to force people to subscribe. The contributions of the Sea Beggars amounted

to very little, although their activity undoubtedly tended to keep the hopes of the people alive. Their vain attempts at liberation maintained the agitation among the exiles, as well as among those that had remained in the country. The very boldness of their schemes, as well as their quick rebound after every failure, continued to fill their countrymen with confidence in their final success.

To collect the necessary money for his projected undertaking, the prince despatched, on January 28th, 1572, Diederick Sonoy and other trusty agents with letters of recommendation to the nobles and other influential Netherland exiles. In these letters he related his sacrifices for the common cause, ever since the year 1568, his endeavors to relieve the oppressed fatherland, and his plans for the future, which required a large sum of money. Again he had pledged his possessions, and with the proceeds and the contributions he expected from the friends of the cause, he intended once more to bring an army into the field. Hundreds of thousands were contributed in response to this appeal, not the least of which was from among the Sea Beggars. Chiefs and officers, and many privates, had first sacrificed their all, then risked their lives, and more than once offered their spoils upon the altar of their country's freedom.

In the early part of this same year a Beggar squadron consisting of thirteen ships had left the Vlie, some of them intending to make for the Island of Wieringen. Others penetrated further into the Zuiderzee, where they caused some damage to the warships of the city of Hoorn, belonging to the fleet of Alba's vice-admiral, Boshuizen. Three of the Beggar captains, Eelsma, Simon Meyns, and Blois Van Treslong, in the latter part of January, landed at Wieringen, probably for the purpose of wintering there. Meyns, bent only on plunder, and thinking neither of his own security

nor of the safety of his companions, undertook a trip to the village of Schoorl, where he captured six rich farmers, for whom he demanded a ransom of eleven thousand guilders. The honorable Treslong, not at all pleased with his companion's dangerous rapacity, censured his conduct severely, and, after a bitter quarrel, succeeded only in cutting down the desired ransom to seven thousand guilders. Treslong's people also sometimes behaved so badly, that upon one occasion the enraged islanders, in a general fight, killed seventeen of them.

And now a report began to circulate that Jan Symonsz Rol, Bossu's junior vice-admiral, had landed on the island with four companies of soldiers, and was fast approaching. It appears that the islanders had only awaited this opportunity for taking revenge; for several of them gathered near the ships, fully armed. In order to avenge himself for the anticipated loss of his ransom, Meyns, with a dozen of his sailors, attacked the Wieringen people. Encouraged, however, by the near approach of the soldiers, such a hot reception was prepared for the Beggar captain and his band, that Meyns and six of his men were killed; a seventh was wounded, and only four succeeded in escaping unhurt. The islanders then went to assail Eelsma and Treslong, but the former had long before reached his ship and departed; while Treslong succeeded later in quieting the exasperated multitude, and was permitted to board his vessel. Soon after, the Spanish soldiers appeared on the scene, drawing behind them swivel guns and culverins. Upon their demand to surrender, Treslong showed them his cannon, and replied that he would answer their summons with powder and shot. The attack on the Beggar ship now began. The enemy discharged more than four hundred shots against Treslong's ship, and while a part of his crew was working hard to get

the ship clear of the ice, the rest not only repulsed every attack, but succeeded in silencing the enemy's artillery. After several ineffectual efforts the ship was at last liberated from the ice, escaping from her perilous position with the loss of two men only,—Treslong's skipper, and a gunner that had previously deserted the enemy for the Beggars.

This exploit is evidently the same mentioned by Dr. Velius in his chronicles of Hoorn, of which the following is a translation: "A few days afterward William Van Treslong—one of the prince's captains—arrived in the Vlie with his warship, intending to sail from there for Texel, but was forced by the ice to go to Wieringen. There he lay till March, going every day with his people on land, and continually living on the husbandmen, without being able to depart, the aforesaid frost lasting a long time. The stadholder, having been informed of this, sent the admiral, Jan Symons Rol, there with four companies of foot-soldiers and a number of sailors, among whom were many from our city, for the purpose of overcoming and taking Treslong's ship.

"Rol left Hoorn with nineteen sleds, and very unexpectedly arrived on the island, almost succeeding in surprising the captain and the larger part of his crew on shore. But failing in this, he immediately summoned the ship to surrender; receiving, in turn, the answer that they had for him nothing but powder and lead. He immediately ordered his men to proceed, intending forthwith to attack the ship and to storm it from every side. But the ship having been righted, Treslong's artillery forced them to retreat, not without the loss of men. They now sought shelter behind a dyke. After our burgomaster, Dirk Gerbrantsz, had, with some cannon, powder, and other ammunitions of war come to his assistance, he guided a number of boats and ice-sleds, filled with earth, on the ice, used them as fortifications,

placed some cannon behind them, and fired nearly five hundred shots at the ship. But he caused little or no damage; his ordnance was too light, and he had not placed his batteries near enough. Treslong, meanwhile, having succeeded in cutting a channel through the ice to free his ship, directed his course seaward, laughing at the cowardice and inexperience of his assailants. They had discharged more than four hundred and eighty shots at the ship, but with little effect. After they had become free of the ice, they began a fearful cannonade, laughed at their enemy, and made for the sea, directing their course to England, without having lost any one but their skipper."

Treslong now set sail for the English port of Dover, near which Lumey had stationed himself with nearly one-half of the entire Beggar Fleet. It is almost certain that, had the majority of the Sea-Beggar chiefs been imbued with Treslong's spirit and high purpose, and possessed of his military skill, the decisive blow for liberty would have been struck two or three years before the accident of April 1st, 1572, when the fate of Spanish supremacy in Northern Netherland was decided and the foundation of the Dutch Republic laid.

Two weeks before Treslong's fortunate escape from the ice and from the enemy's cannon, the Duke of Alba, on February 16th, 1572, summoned Captain Zeger Jansen, of Medenblik, one of the duke's naval commanders, to appear before his Council of Troubles—known in popular parlance as Council of Blood. At the time these summons were issued the captain's property was also confiscated. In the latter part of 1571 he, with his ship of three hundred tons and his entire crew, had abandoned the cause of Spain and gone over to the Sea Beggars. He had retained command of his vessel, however, one of the largest and best-equipped of the Beggar Fleet. The new Beggar captain appointed as

his lieutenant Eloy Van Rudam, a southern Netherlander of Lille, or Ryssel, who won a most enviable reputation when, two years later, the scene of naval warfare shifted from the waters of Friesland and the Zuiderzee to the estuaries of the Scheldt, in the province of Zeeland.

The Sea Beggars that had congregated in the English Channel and South of England ports, did not appear to be much affected by the decrees issued against them by the English government. In the month of February the irrepressible Schoonewal was busily engaged capturing Spanish vessels passing the Isle of Wight. On this account the English government ordered his apprehension. Lumey himself, on February 10th, 1572, had been peremptorily ordered to quit immediately the English waters with all the ships under his command. Positive instructions were given to the commanders of the Cinque Ports to prevent every local intercourse with the Sea Beggars; while some of their chiefs were even arrested and their ships confiscated. After it became evident that they had neither prizes nor booty to dispose of, they were speedily liberated and their ships returned to them, either upon the plea that they had entered the port only under stress of weather or upon other plausible excuses.

Early in the year Lumey requested the English government to set apart for him some port, preferably the harbor of Dover, that he could consider as specially destined for the use of his fleet! The English government, as was to be expected, refused not only this peculiar request, but the queen issued an order February 21st, 1572, in which she informed the authorities that Lumey had been *permitted* to quit the English harbors with his ships, but not permitted to establish himself at Dover or anywhere else in the realm for the purpose of there equipping and manning his ships.

Lumey was again ordered to leave, and in case he should not willingly do so he was to be refused provisions, *but no violence was to be used against him*, unless by explicit orders of the Privy Council. The English government even went so far as to declare to the Spanish ambassador that it did not consider William the Silent a sovereign prince, possessing the international standing to declare war and issue letters of marque, and that it intended to chase the prince's ships away from the English ports.

But if the English government, for political reasons, was anxious to rid itself of the Sea Beggars, the authorities of the ports that the Netherland privateers usually selected as their trysting-places, were not desirous of seeing them go. The people of those ports derived profits too large from the presence of the Sea Beggars, and on that account were loth to see them depart.

On March 1st, 1572, the English government again issued a sharply worded proclamation to the port-authorities regarding the presence of the Sea Beggars. But the harbor officials employed all manner of subterfuge for the purpose of retarding the departure of their profitable guests. Sometimes they would send the letters of marque, issued by the prince or his brother, to London for investigation. At other times they used the stormy weather as an excuse for permitting the Sea Beggars to enter and shelter in their harbors. Again, they would write to London that they understood the decree of February 21st concerned only Lumey and his crews, but did not apply to the other Sea Beggars. It was evident that Lumey would have to go; and early in March he left his safe anchorage. But soon again he returned to English waters, and about March 20th was cruising with six small ships between Dover and the Downs.

Lumey's vice-admiral, Lancelot Van Brederode, and other

Beggar chiefs, were bold enough to take up their abode in London, and there, in plain view of every one, visited the exchange, all of which caused the temporary Spanish ambassador and negotiator Sweveghem to exclaim: "Voilà le premier fruict des édits nouveaux contre cette canaille!" (See here the first fruit of the new edicts against that rabble!) It was during this time that Lumey is said to have declared to his captains that he was waiting only for reinforcements to make an attack upon Briel and the Island of Voorne, where, in the latter part of 1571, he had sent a French captain to inspect the defenses, and study the chances of success.

A little more than a week later, on March 29th, 1572, intelligence was received at London that, some days preceding, Lumey had arrived with sixteen ships at the Isle of Wight, for the purpose of disposing of five prizes that he had just taken in the Channel, and also to provision his fleet. However, the Beggars were gone long before any orders concerning them could reach the authorities from the capital. Blois Van Treslong, after his fortunate escape from the Spanish attack at Wieringen, had reached the Channel in company with more vessels, and now united with his admiral. Owing to orders to the authorities in the English harbors not to permit any of the Sea Beggars to take in provisions, the stores of most of them were very low. Twenty-four of the ships under Lumey now left the Channel in an easterly direction, expecting possibly to fall in with some merchantmen or fishing craft, and thus replenish their larder. On March 31st, they overtook and captured two merchant vessels in the North Sea, coming from Spain; one—a Spanish ship belonging in Biscay; the other belonging at Antwerp, and commanded by Captain Claes Vaer of Brouwershaven, but sailing under Spanish colors, and, therefore, legitimate prey.

The two captured ships were added to the fleet, and given in command to Adam Van Haren and Marinus Brand.

The Sea Beggars now set sail for the coast of Holland, with the intention, probably, of attacking the Spanish squadron near the Island of Texel, and undertaking something against Enkhuizen or other ports within the province of North Holland. Some think that they intended to proceed to the Sound for the purpose of intercepting the grainships destined for Amsterdam. However, the wind suddenly shifted to the north; and opposite Egmond, on the sea, the Beggar Fleet was forced to turn. They now followed a southerly direction toward the river Maas, pursued a few merchantmen, which escaped to Rotterdam, and on Tuesday, April 1st, 1572, the entire fleet cast anchor before Briel, the city now destined to become the cradle of Dutch liberty.

THE SEA-BEGGAR CHIEFS.

A. THOSE THAT TOOK PART IN THE CAPTURE OF BRIEL.

William, Count of La Marck, Baron of Lumey, etc., Lieutenant-admiral of the fleet, of Liège, Belgium.
Foeke Abels, } of Dockum, Friesland.
Jan Abels, }
Jacob Antoniszoon, of Haarlem, Holland.
Nicolaas Bernaard, probably of Brussels.
Geleyn Bouwensz, probably of Zeeland.
Marinus Brand, of Saeftinge, Zeeland.
Bruyn, of Utrecht.
Jacob Cabiljauw, of Ghent, Flanders.
Michiel Croock, of Liège, Belgium.
Jacob Simonsz De Ryk, of Amsterdam, Holland.
Dirk Duivel, of Amsterdam, Holland.
Baltus Franszoon, of Dordrecht, Holland.
Jelmer Gabbes, of Ameland, Friesland.
Douwe Glins, of Friesland.
Guillaume Grave, of Ghent, Flanders.

Jacques Hennebert, of Sluis, in Zeeland-Flanders.
Gautier Herlin, of Valenciennes, Belgium.
Duco Hettinga, } of Barderadeel, Friesland.
Homme Hettinga, }
Niklaas Holbeek, probably of North Holland.
Willem Lievensz, probably of Middelburg, Zeeland.
Cornelis Loufsz, of Amsterdam, Holland.
Jacob Martens, of Ghent, Flanders.
Maarten Merens, of Amsterdam or Hoorn, Holland.
Johan Omal, of Liège, Belgium.
Hans Onversaagd, of Schalkwyk, Utrecht.
Tjart or Wilke Rengers, of Groningen.
Cornelis Geerlofsz Roobol.
Eloy Rudam, probably of Brussels, Belgium.
Niklaas Ruychaver, of Haarlem, Holland.
Jacques Schoonewal, of Ghent, Flanders.
Jan Simonsz, either of North Holland or of Friesland.
Wybe Sjoerdsz, of Workum, Friesland.
Jan Klaasz Spieghel, probably of Amsterdam, Holland.
Gillis Steltman, of Brussels, Belgium.
Jan Syvertsz, of Amsterdam, Holland.
Hendrik Thomasz, of North Holland.
Lancelot Van Brederode, of Haarlem, Holland.
Frederik Van Dorp, of Holland.
Willem Van Dorp, of Holland.
Arent Van Duivenvoorde, of Holland.
Johan Van Duivenvoorde, of Warmond, Holland.
Cornelis Lousz Van Everdingen, of Utrecht.
Lodewyck Van Gent.
Adam Van Haren, of Valkenburg, Limburg.
Salomon Van der Hoeve, of Schiedam, Holland.
Frederick Van Inthiema, of Koudum, Friesland.
Dirk Van der Laan, probably of Leyden, Holland.
Albrecht Van Egmond Van Merestein, of Holland.
Barthold Entens Van Mentheda, of Middelstum, Groningen.
Antonis Van Rynen, of Overysel.
Willem Van Blois Van Treslong, of Den Briel, Holland.
Antonis Antonisz Van Utenhove, of Ghent, Flanders.
Adrian Van Zwieten.
Ellert Vlierhop, of Jemgum, East Friesland.
Dirk Wor, of Dordrecht, Holland.

B. Those that Took no Part in the Capture of Briel.

Adrian Van Bergues, Lord of Dolhain, of Hainault, } Admirals.
Guislain De Fiennes, Lord of Lumbres, of Artois, }
Tamme Abels, of Dockum, Friesland.
Joannes Andriesz.
Foppe Annes, of Dockum, Friesland.
Albrecht Benningerhof.
Andries Pietersz Bie, Bye or De Bie, of Dordrecht, Holland.
Jan Bonga, of West Dongeradeel, Friesland.
Boske, Du Bosk or Van den Bosch.
Jan Broek, of Amsterdam, Holland.
Calfsvel, of Rotterdam, Holland.
Gysbrecht Jansen Coninck, of Dordrecht, Holland.
Jelte Eelsma, of Sixbierum, Friesland.
Meinert Friesse, probably of Friesland.
Hartman and Watze Gauma, brothers of Ackrum, Friesland.
Gisbertus, of Holland.
Pibo Harda, of Friesland.
Wolter Hegeman, of Harderwyk, Gelderland.
Hero Hottinga, of Leeuwarden, Friesland.
Zeger Janszoon, of Medenblik, Holland.
Jan Joosten.
Adriaan Michielsz Menninck, of Delft, Holland.
Baron of Montfalcon, of Burgundy.
Jan Robert.
Michiel Samplon.
Diederik Sonoy, of Cleves, Germany.
Spierinck or Spiering.
Seger Spriecklоo.
Jo. Vigerus a Sytsma, of Friesland.
Wibo Tjarrels, of Bolsward, Friesland.
Philippus Tongerloo, possibly of Flanders.
Jerome Tseraerts, of Brussels, Belgium.
Poppo Ufkens (Ten Dam), of Groningen.
Peter Van Berchem, probably of Antwerp.
Louis Van Bergues, of Hainault.
Erasmus Van Brederode.
Dirk Van Bremen.
Ananias Van Crueningen, of Zeeland.
Gerrit Sebastiaansz Van Gorkum, of Holland.

Willem Van Imbize or Hembyze, of Ghent, Flanders.
Jan Jansen Van der Nyenburg, of Amsterdam, Holland.
Gerrit Gerretsen Van Oudwater, of Holland.
Crispinus Van Solbrugge, of Arnhem, Gelderland.
Jan Van Troyen, of Rotterdam, Holland.
Egbert Wybrantsz, } Frisians, who had lived at Amsterdam.
Jurrien Wybrantsz, }
Wyger, of Dockum, Friesland.

N. B.—It is to be observed that the writing of names of persons and of places in those days was very variable. On this account, therefore, a name will appear written in several different ways yet meaning the same person or place. For instance: Koning, Koninck, Coning, etc.; Jansen, Jansz, Janszoon, etc.; Tholen, Tolen, etc. There existed no fixed rule in the writing of proper names, and every scribe wrote them as he saw fit. Several persons also signed their names differently at various times, as well as the places of their birth or residence.

Part II.

The Sea Beggars as Liberators.

(THE DUTCH HAVE TAKEN HOLLAND!)

Chapter One.

The Capture of Briel.

WHEN, in the spring of 1571, it was generally feared among the Spanish authorities in the Netherlands that the Sea Beggars had planned several attacks against maritime cities, the authorities made haste to station garrisons and, in some instances, guardships in and about several of the threatened towns. The city of Den Briel, Briel or Brielle, on the Island of Voorne, in the province of South Holland, which, prior to this, had been threatened by the Sea Beggars, had, on this account, been obliged to receive a Spanish garrison. Besides this garrison, a guardship, under the command of Captain Schulenburgh, had been stationed in the river Maas.

The city authorities were not only obliged to pay the soldiers and sailors, and to provide for them, but had to incur the additional expense of engaging one Joost Cornelisz, a Spanish scholar, "for the purpose of interpreting to the burghers the Spanish of the soldiers." All this occurred at a time when the commerce, the fisheries, and the shipbuilding interests of the place had been well-nigh ruined by the depredations of the Sea Beggars and the tyranny of the Spanish government. Large numbers of citizens had, on this account, been forced to seek refuge in more peaceable lands, and even among the very Sea Beggars that had largely been instrumental in bringing about their city's decline.

Den Briel was unable to bear the heavy expense incident to its garrison and guardship. More than once the city authorities had petitioned the Duke of Alba to release them from this heavy burden. The States of Holland joined in the petition, and the consequence was that, on November 19th, 1571, after all danger of an immediate attack upon the city and island appeared to be passed, the Spanish governor-general ordered the garrison of Briel to proceed to Utrecht. This was not so much to relieve Briel, perhaps, as to punish Utrecht for the decided stand it was taking against the payment of the detested tenth-penny tax.

Den Briel was therefore without defenders. The twenty-six ships of the Sea Beggars were manned by crews probably numbering eight hundred sailors at most. Some of these ships measured at least one hundred and sixty tons, and were armed with about twenty pieces of artillery. This force was more than sufficient to take and hold a city the size of Den Briel, where a large proportion of the people, if not favorable, was at least not inimical, to the cause represented by the freebooters. Twice before—the first time in 1570, the second in 1571—the Sea Beggars had intended to attempt the surprise of Den Briel. Each project, however, had been abandoned; although the leaders of the revolt had strongly favored the intent, because the city was considered the key to the whole of South Holland.

Upon this period of their country's history much diversity of opinion exists among later Dutch historians as to whether the attack upon the city was premeditated or only accidental. The course of the Sea Beggars north and their subsequent return south, because of adverse winds, appears to have favored the latter opinion. But it is certain that Lumey, the admiral of the Sea Beggars, had already planned and prepared an assault on Briel in conjunction with the

projected undertakings of the prince. This attack, therefore, though fortunately happening at the moment it did, may have been premature only in regard to time and mode of execution.

At this time also reports circulated among the Beggar Fleet that the Duke of Medina Celi, Alba's successor as Spanish governor-general in the Netherlands, was about to sail for the country. The clear-sighted Lumey wished to prevent him from finding a port by which he could enter the Netherlands. It was therefore the intention of the Sea Beggars to take as many ports as they could and Briel certainly was to be one of them. Possibly, too, for the purpose of engaging Medina's ships if they should appear too early near the scene of action, almost one-half of the entire Beggar Fleet had been left behind in the Channel; and it is a well-established fact that Lumey's squadron—gathered between Dover and Calais some time during the month of March, 1572—consisted of considerably more than forty vessels.

The Beggar Fleet was composed of all kinds of sea-going craft known in those days. Few among them were actual warships, *i. e.*, built for that purpose. The greater number were originally merchantmen, converted into the semblance of warships. All flew the colors of the prince; some of them inscribed with the legends "Pro Patria" or "Leve de Geuzen." Besides this general standard there were also displayed from the masthead the banners of the nobles and the city flags of the burgher-captains, commanding the ships. Nearly every ship also showed a broad red pennant, upon which ten pennies had been painted, emblematic of the Sea Beggars' declaration that they intended to deliver the country from Alba's tenth-penny tax.

The Beggar Fleet now approached the city in battle array.

Marinus Brand and Adam Van Haren, with their new commands—the Spanish merchantmen just captured—led the van. Soon the entire squadron cast anchor in plain view of the astounded city. No one needed to ask who they were. Their rigging—especially the ensigns hanging from their mastheads—made it plain to every one that they were the Sea Beggars, come at last to tear the city from the grasp of the Spaniards.

Immediately the report was spread everywhere: "The Sea Beggars have come!" Quickly the gates were locked, the city council assembled, and armed burghers hastened to the walls.

Meanwhile Jan Pietersz Koppelstock was returning from Maassluis to Den Briel with a load of passengers. He was a fish merchant and the proprietor of the ferry between Den Briel and Maassluis, a substantial citizen of the little town, an ardent patriot and a secret friend of the Sea Beggars. As soon as the passengers spied the unwonted number of ships congregated in the roadstead of Briel, they asked Koppelstock: "Who are they?" Upon his reply, "The Beggars of the Sea," the passengers were struck with such terror that they refused to proceed, and requested the ferryman to take them back to Maassluis. After their return, Koppelstock, without taking time to go to Den Briel, immediately made for the fleet, hailed Treslong's ship,—easily recognized by its commander's standard waving from her masthead,—and was introduced by Treslong to Lumey as the discreet and devoted man they needed for the message they wanted to convey to the city.

Treslong himself had been born at Den Briel, and spent his early youth there. Yonker Jasper Van Treslong, the father of the Sea-Beggar captain, had been bailiff for several years of Den Briel and of the Island of Voorne. Those in

authority, therefore, knew his seal. Without giving him any written message, the admiral commissioned Koppelstock verbally to request the city authorities to send their delegates to treat about the surrender of the town. The well-known signet-ring of Treslong, given to the ferryman, was to convince the city magistrates that he had been sent by the heads of the Sea Beggars.

Koppelstock, armed with his credentials, and desirous of taking an active part in the liberation of his city, returned speedily to the town. The people, who must have seen him leave the Beggar Fleet, were anxiously awaiting his arrival. As soon as he presented himself before the gate, it was eagerly opened, and crowds of people, gathering about and following him, importuned him to learn his message. Some —partisans of Spain—were insulting in their remarks. But, paying no heed to any around him, Koppelstock hastened to the city hall, where the magistracy had convened. Here he explained that he had been authorized by Lumey and Treslong to request that delegates from among the city council should accompany him to the jetty to treat about the city's surrender to the prince. "You need have no fear," he added: "the Sea Beggars will harm no one, and have come only to save the city for the king, from Alba's tyranny and his ruinous tenth-penny tax." In token of his credibility, Koppelstock showed his credentials in the shape of Treslong's well-known signet-ring.

The city fathers were in a quandary. They knew that the Spaniards would never forgive them if they should surrender the city to the Sea Beggars, and that a Spanish siege, possibly a bloody revenge, was sure to follow. They also remembered that the banished bailiff, Sandyck, was Treslong's uncle, the husband of Elizabeth Van Treslong, sister of the Beggar captain's father. And, the year pre-

ceding, they had not only set apart Sandyck's house as a barracks for the Spanish troops, but had even confiscated his property. They dreaded the Sea Beggars almost as much as the Spaniards, and did not know how to act, as it was evident that the larger part of the burghers could not be counted upon to assist them.

The presiding burgomaster, Jan Pietersz Nicker, now asked Koppelstock: "How strong are the Beggars?" The ferryman promptly answered: "At least five thousand strong." This answer frightened them still more. If the Beggars were so numerous, resistance was out of the question. Thereupon the council decided to send two delegates to meet the Beggar admiral, and about three o'clock in the afternoon they departed in company of Koppelstock. Lumey, with some of his captains, had already gone ashore. They were now awaiting Koppelstock's return and the arrival of the delegates, in a house situated between the city and the pier, at the junction of the Heyndyke and the Hoofddyke. The captains had also disembarked part of their crews,—about three hundred men in all,—who had taken positions near enough to impress the delegates.

Koppelstock and his not very cheerful companions had, in the meantime, been admitted into the presence of Lumey, who demanded the unconditional surrender of the town within two hours. Upon their return to the city the deputies already saw the Sea Beggars marching in the direction of the North, or Watergate. While passing them, the delegates of the city council had enough presence of mind to notice and to remember that most of the sailors were "poorly clad." This looked ominous enough. But what the councilors could not see was that actual want existed upon several of the Beggar ships. This want, in some instances, was so acute that, when Captain Brand boarded Adam Van

Haren's ship to find something to eat, the latter could offer him only a piece of cheese,—the last he had.

After the return of the delegates the council resolved to surrender the town. Without, however, taking time to apprise Lumey of their decision, the members hastened home, and packed as many of their valuables as they could carry or cart away; so while the Sea Beggars were still waiting before the North gate, hundreds of people were leaving the town by the South gate.

The two hours of grace, meanwhile, had expired. Lumey now began to grow impatient for the answer, so unexpectedly delayed, and he sent Treslong with a detachment of Beggars to the South gate. Treslong, passing by one or two other city gates, arrived in time to intercept a number of fugitives. Among them was a relative of two of the Beggar chiefs, the bailiff and treasurer Yonker Jan Van Duivenvoorde, who had just left the city with government funds, amounting to six thousand guilders. He was invited to remain with the Sea Beggars, and the funds were confiscated in behalf of the cause.

Roobol, Treslong's lieutenant, and one of the most intrepid of Sea Beggars, had taken command of the division before the North gate, under Lumey's personal supervision. At the expiration of the two hours of grace Roobol approached the gate. He asked the burghers on the wall whether they were going to assist him in; or whether he should help himself. For answer he was—according to one historian—fired upon by some of the burghers; the gate remained closed.

The resourceful Roobol now ordered some of his men to gather branches of trees, twigs, and straw, and to pile them against the gate; these were then covered with pitch and tar, and fire set to the pile; at the same time the doors were

forced by the use of gunpowder. When even this failed to open the gate, Roobol battered the door with piece of a mast, while some of the nimblest of his men scaled the walls, where the burghers were either too much frightened or too indecisive to offer any resistance. At last the gate succumbed to the united attacks of fire, gunpowder, and battering-ram, and about eight o'clock on the evening of Tuesday, April 1st, 1572, Roobol's detachment of Sea Beggars entered the city of Brielle by way of the North gate.

Upon Treslong's arrival at the South gate it had been promptly closed, and no one paid any attention to the trumpeter in front of the gate, who demanded the surrender of the town. Treslong now threatened to set fire to the gate. The frightened burghers thereupon opened it, and Treslong's division entered the city by way of the South gate, at the same time that Roobol gained entrance from the opposite side. This Tuesday, April 1st, 1572, as a consequence of the fortunate capture of Briel, proved to be the birthday of the Dutch nation.

The Sea Beggars, contrary to all expectation and precedent, did not now by any marked excesses disgrace their victory or desecrate the cause for which they fought. It is true that two houses had been burned, but one of them—the dwelling of Pieter Paulusz Steur—had been ignited by the sparks flying from the fire at the North gate. No harm was done to the burghers, although several buildings, especially those left vacant by the fugitives, were looted. There was a large sum of money at the house of burgomaster Nicker, arising from the excise. In his hasty flight he had forgotten all about it, and Lumey eagerly appropriated it for the cause.

Neither was there any lack of quarters or of provisions for the men. A large part of the population, especially

among the wealthier classes, had precipitately left the city. Therefore, from the commonest Beggar sailor to the admiral himself, they had only to choose from the best and most commodious houses in the city for their quarters.

After the second day Lumey convoked a council of war, and, in view of the weakness of the place, asked his captains whether they deemed the city tenable or not; also whether it was their opinion and advice to hold the town for the prince, or to ship their booty and depart. In the first place, Treslong, De Ryk, Duivel, Entens, and certainly the Van Dorps, the Van Duivenvoordes, Van der Hoeven, Cabiljau, and Ruychaver, the most influential and prominent among his commanders, were in favor of holding the town. "How was it possible," was asked, "to keep up the courage of an expectant people, whose hopes, owing to the oft-promised but ever-failing liberation, were fast waning, if they should thus wantonly throw away a key to the country? It was much better, now that fortune had aided them, to inform the prince of their success, as he would not then commit the blunder of leaving them to themselves." And the noble De Ryk, it appears, would rather have died in defense of the city than again become an exile on the waters; for he said: "As far as I am concerned, many a time have I prayed God for a grave upon my country's strand; now I expect to find one within walls."

It was fortunate for their oppressed country that they counseled thus. Most of the others were in favor of holding the city, and Lumey issued orders to stay. As soon as the decision of the council of war had been ratified, a messenger was sent to Dillenburg, in Germany, to acquaint William the Silent with the happy event, and to request assistance,—much needed. Disguised as a farmer, the messenger traveled by way of Utrecht and Arnheim to Germany.

Arriving there, he was silent no longer, and the happy news was soon spread over all Germany that the Dutch had at last taken and were holding a stronghold in their own country,—the key to the important province of South Holland.

At first the prince was not very well pleased with the whole affair; and, judging from past experience, and knowing the general character of the Sea Beggars, he feared they would commit grave mistakes. He also deemed the conquest premature and too risky, and was of opinion that, in case of an attack or siege by the Spaniards, the city would not be able to hold out, and that the cause of liberty would then be very much damaged. What was even worse, this temporary success he thought would put Alba upon his guard, and frustrate the other attempts that the prince had been preparing at the expense of so great a sacrifice and so much money. Still he promised every assistance in his power, and hoped for the best.

Immediately after the resolve to hold Den Briel, Treslong was appointed governor and captain-general of the city; a number of Sea Beggars were also drafted from the ships to serve as a garrison for their new stronghold, and the defenses were hurriedly strengthened,—mostly by means of fish barrels, filled with sand and earth. The prince's colors floating from the city towers by daylight, and the signal fires by night, warned every patriot that the city was yet in possession of the Sea Beggars, and that every defender would be made welcome within its walls.

Accompanied by Bernard and Rudam—the David and Jonathan of the Sea Beggars—De Ryck was despatched to England to acquaint the other Sea Beggars with their success, to spread the news of the conquest among the other exiles, and to request assistance in men and money.

The people of Den Briel, at first so reluctant to declare themselves, were now full of zeal to assist in preserving their newly-acquired freedom. Men, women, and children cordially and enthusiastically assisted their liberators in putting their city in a defensible condition. The suburb adjoining the South gate was burned down, so that the enemy —who was certain to come—could not find any shelter there. The orchards in the Newland polder were cut down, and the trunks and branches of the trees carried on the road and dyke leading to the South gate, to impede the enemy's progress. The men and boys of Den Briel, meanwhile, were kept busy strengthening the weak defense of the South gate by building a new bastion, which, as long as it stood, was known by the name of "Lumey's bastion,"—a grateful tribute to the liberator of their city. Every one did something to keep their town from again passing under the yoke. Even the wives and daughters of the rich, unaccustomed to perform any hard labor, made themselves supremely useful by tearing their aprons and other suitable material, and twisting the strips into fuses. Thus was the city preparing to receive the forces of the tyrant, who certainly would not delay to attempt the recovery of this important stronghold.

When Bossu, Holland's Spanish stadholder, had been informed of the fall of Den Briel, he immediately perceived its far-reaching influence upon the affairs of the country, and he resolved to regain the city before its moral effect upon other dissatisfied regions should endanger Spanish domination there.

He had learned of the great event early in the morning of April 2d, while staying at The Hague, being there with the object of devising measures against the very Sea Beggars that had now so boldly snatched from him a part of his

province. He forthwith wrote to Don Hernando De Toledo, commander of the Spanish garrison at Utrecht, ordering him to send to his assistance eight companies of infantry. This was done immediately. Bossu himself concentrated all the available troops in his immediate vicinity, and without delay marched them upon Maassluis, whence he intended to ship them to Briel. On the evening of April 4th the companies sent from Utrecht arrived at Vlaardingen and Schiedam, and only the strong wind prevented their speedy departure. Possibly Pieter Van Vrancken, Vlaardingen's bailiff, a secret friend of his country's liberty, who was to pilot the Spanish vessels to Den Briel, may have had something to do with the delay, as it would afford the Sea Beggars more time to strengthen their defenses. The following morning, however, the storm had passed; excuse for a longer delay existed no more, and twenty-five vessels conveyed the Spanish hosts to the Island of Voorne, where, instead of a brilliant victory, shameful defeat and almost total annihilation were awaiting them.

On Sunday, April 5th, the Spanish troops, between twelve hundred and fifteen hundred strong, landed at Heenvliet, only a few miles distant from their goal. The ships were left behind in a small stream, the Bornisse. Van Vrancken had advised the Spaniards to leave the ships there, and he found means to acquaint his Beggar friends at Den Briel with the fact. They would soon know what advantage to take of it.

But why did not the Sea Beggars oppose the landing of the enemy? First, their forces were not strong enough to be divided; secondly, the report of the coming of the Spaniards had driven hundreds of country people within the walls of the city. Lumey did not know their disposition, and, fearing treason from this direction, did not deem it prudent to detach any considerable number of his small

force from their base: he awaited the coming of the enemy.

With standards flying, and to the strains of martial music, the Spaniards sped along the country roads of the Island of Voorne, confident of an easy victory over the undisciplined hordes of the despised Sea Beggars. So lightly indeed did Bossu esteem the enemy, he had not, in his impatience to face the invaders, even taken the time or the trouble to provide himself with heavy artillery.

Soon, however, the van, led by the impetuous ensign Diego Felices, was forced to pause in front of the obstructions caused by the felled trees and branches. Hardly had they paused when a well-directed and murderous fire came from the Beggar sharpshooters, stationed behind those obstructions, that now served them as ramparts. Wavering and disorder swept along the Spanish ranks; and after several ineffective discharges from their muskets, they were forced to fall back into the Newland polder, below the dyke.

While the Beggars, stationed in front of the South gate, were thus extending so hearty a reception to the Spaniards, another party, under Treslong and Roobol, left the city by a circuitous route, and marched in the direction of the Bornisse. Here they set fire to some of the Spanish ships, sank others, and detached a few from their moorings, sending them adrift, and thus cutting off the Spanish retreat. They returned to the city in time to take part in the final destruction of the enemy.

While the firing from behind the felled trees was still going on, the city carpenter,—Rochus Meeuwisz Coninck,—armed with only an axe, appeared upon the dyke, in full view of the wavering Spaniards. Before they had time to cover him with their fire-arms, the carpenter had disappeared in the water, below the Maasdyke. Swimming to the New-

land sluice, Coninck chopped a hole in the solid sluice-doors. The seething waters of the river Maas now began to break in upon the astounded Spaniards. Threatened by this,—their most dreaded enemy,—the Spaniards again ascended the dyke, intending to storm the South gate, hoping thereby, by sheer force of numbers, to gain an entrance into the city. The Beggar chief, fearing that the obstructions on the dyke would not prove efficient, and expecting also that the gate would have to stand the brunt of the assault, had stationed some of his best and heaviest artillery there. In the headlong run for this place of safety, the well-aimed fire of the Sea Beggars did so great execution among the Spanish troops, that many were mowed down. The remainder were forced to seek safety below the dyke, out of reach of the scathing fire, in the half-submerged polder, where the water had already begun to reach to their belts. Now the retreat dissolved itself into a wild and disorderly flight, hastened from one side by the rising waters, and from the other by the never-ceasing fire of the pursuing Sea Beggars. The panic among the Spaniards was still increasing, when, upon turning to flee, they beheld the flames licking up the masts and rigging of their burning ships.

A few reached their half-burned vessels, and, quenching the fire as well as they could, fled away upon them. Others were fortunate enough to escape to New Beyerland. But several scores—how many is not known—found their death through the bullets of the Sea Beggars, in the raging waters of the river Maas, or in the numerous marshes and pools of the surrounding country. Before nightfall not a single living Spaniard was to be seen anywhere on the entire Island of Voorne. Now the liberation was complete.

On Monday, April 7th, Lumey invited the inhabitants of Briel and of the entire Island of Voorne to swear the oath

of allegiance to the prince, as the king's stadholder of Holland and Zeeland. The successful defense of their island and city, and the ever-increasing additions to the forces of the Sea Beggars within the town, inspired the inhabitants with confidence, and gave them the courage to cast in their lot with their liberators. Few, therefore, refused to take the oath, or left the district where the cause of freedom had been victorious. So Briel was the first city to be freed from the Spanish yoke, thus gaining the legend beneath its coat of arms:

"LIBERTATIS PRIMITIÆ."

The capture and successful defense of Den Briel had, furthermore, a far-reaching influence upon the character of the Sea Beggars. Their morals were greatly improved. As a body, they felt that they had something better to do than to plunder weak merchantmen, or despoil defenseless people. From mere privateers, and freebooters at times, they became an invincible organization of soldiers. After their share in the great work of liberation had been accomplished, and their redeemed fatherland needed their help in fighting its battles to defend its newly-found independence, the Sea Beggars were ever ready to answer its calls on land and on sea. For years to come they were to be found in the thickest of the fight, and victory usually smiled upon the forces with which they were incorporated.

The happy news of the conquest of Brielle by the Sea Beggars had sent a thrill of joy through the entire country. Alba was so much enraged and astounded at it that he even neglected to have some of his cruel judgments at Brussels executed. But the Netherland people again took courage. From all parts of the land large numbers of disaffected patriots swarmed into Den Briel, not only ready to assist at

its defense against the enemy, should they return, but also ready in the ranks, or under the direction of the Sea Beggars, to undertake everything for the further liberation of their country.

The majority of the Sea Beggars, as may be judged from their adventurous disposition, did not stay very long in Den Briel; they knew they were needed elsewhere. Marinus Brand, for instance, but a few days after the capture, conquered Delfshaven and Schiedam, and stationed garrisons there. The former place, however, was soon retaken by Bossu, on April 9th, when he effected his murderous entrance into Rotterdam. Only enough Sea Beggars remained in Den Briel to keep up the courage and determination of the people, and to instruct the newcomers in the use of arms.

Soon other cities and entire provinces followed the example of Den Briel: Flushing first, and Veere soon after. Enkhuisen followed a few weeks later. Hoorn and the entire northern quarter of the province of Holland, with all the cities north of the Y, did not wait much longer, and nearly all of the Holland towns south of the Y drove away their Spanish officials. The provinces of Friesland, Gelderland, and Overysel were soon after gained over by the presence of the prince's forces under his brother-in-law, Count William Van den Berg. Wherever the presence of strong Spanish garrisons did not intimidate the people, they generally declared for the prince, and in favor of liberty and progress.

The Sea Beggars soon became so numerous that their ships blockaded the entire coast of the North Sea and the Zuiderzee. The work of liberation in the north seemed almost completed. And then the favorable news was spread through the country that Alba's troubles had been much in-

creased by Louis of Nassau, who surprised, on May 24th, the important and strongly fortified town of Mons, or Bergen, in Hainault, the southernmost province of the Netherlands.

Still, days almost as dark as those that had gone before were destined to pass over the country. Most of what had been gained was to be lost again. The Sea Beggars would be called upon often to come to the assistance of a cause almost hopeless; and sometimes it appeared as if the victories of the Spanish armies would force them back to their former life of freebooting.

De Ryck's trip to England was most successful. For the purpose of immediately obtaining money, De Ryck had taken with him the two ships recently captured in the North Sea, to be sold in England. As soon as he arrived in Dover, and had communicated the happy news of the capture of the key to South Holland, the enthusiastic exiles and their friends spread the report far and wide along the Channel, to London, and soon the cry was echoed from the south to the north, over the length and breadth of the land:

"THE DUTCH HAVE TAKEN HOLLAND!"

But with the dissemination of the news among the people, Elizabeth and her council also learned of De Ryck's arrival in an English port. This was against the decrees, which prohibited the Sea Beggars from entering English harbors. De Ryck's ships were detained and he himself was brought before the queen. Here he related the capture of Den Briel, and defended himself so effectively that he was released, but was ordered to depart immediately. After listening to his tale the queen told him: "that it would be well for him not to cause any disturbance in her realm, and to depart for home." While De Ryck was detained at London, his companions, Rudam and Bernard, had been busily engaged

mustering large numbers of exiles from the neighborhood, who were immediately ready to join in the expedition to their native land.

A few days after his arrival De Ryck again set sail with his three ships and more than five hundred auxiliaries. This showed that he had no need to sell the two prizes, and that he had received suffrcient pecuniary assistance from the friends of the cause in England to enable him to utilize his ships for taking over the much-needed auxiliary troops. This much is known: Two Dutchmen of Spanish origin, the brothers Marcus and Salvador Della Palma, forced to flee from the Netherlands and to take up their abode in England, procured De Ryck six thousand guilders, with which he purchased greatly-needed ammunition and other necessaries for carrying on the war. It is more than probable, too, that other Netherlanders, sojourning in England, also sent in their contributions, which must have enabled De Ryck to keep his ships.

As will be subsequently related, De Ryck, however, instead of proceeding to Den Briel, as ordered by Lumey, sailed for another destination, where his timely arrival served not only to encourage the people but placed him where he was in a position to render the most valuable services to his country's cause.

Chapter Two.

The Revolution at Flushing.

THE second city to be delivered from the yoke of Spain was Vlissingen, or Flushing, "Zeelandia portus et Oceani claustra," as a Dutch historian of those days modestly calls it, in the province of Zeeland. Though the burghers themselves cast off the yoke, yet it is undeniably true that the report that the Sea Beggars had taken Den Briel inspired the people of Flushing with the necessary courage and determination to drive away the approaching Spanish garrison, to discomfit the stadholder of Zeeland, and to chase to Middelburg the Walloon garrison, then holding the town.

Twice had efforts been made to gain over the important city of Flushing to the cause of liberty. Twice those efforts had failed. The first, in February 1567, by Jan Van Marnix, Lord of Tholouse, ended in the disaster at Oosterweel, near Antwerp. The second, in 1570, by the Sea Beggars, had been frustrated by the storm and inundation of All Saints' Eve. Alba thereupon intended not only to render the town impregnable from without, by considerably strengthening the city's defenses, but also to dominate the citizens from within, by building a citadel within the city gates. The castle of Antwerp was to be the model for this projected Flushing citadel. Alba's famous engineer, the remorseless Pacieco, a worthy relative of the oppressor of the Nether-

land people, was to be its builder. For this work the city of Amsterdam alone had been obliged to contribute the enormous sum of two hundred thousand guilders.

In the latter part of 1571 the work on the citadel was begun, but the fortunate departure of Pacieco for another field of labor—probably aided by the frost of winter—suspended its progress.

At the end of March, 1572, Alba intended to resume work upon it, and he sent a large number of pioneers from Flanders to continue the excavations. At the same time, the duke despatched to the city Scipio Hampi, who was especially commissioned to try to make the magistrates and the people of Flushing agree to having the company of Walloon soldiers—now garrisoning their town—replaced by Spaniards. A few days prior to this Alba had written to Beauvois, commander of the Walloon garrison, to assist in getting the Spanish soldiers within the city, and thereupon to leave with his men for Middelburg.

Hampi arrived on the 28th of March, and began his schemes by telling the people that he had induced the Duke of Alba to set aside a considerable amount of money for the purpose of strengthening the city's defenses; at the same time he informed those whom he thought he could trust, of his secret orders, which were to be carried out as soon as the Spanish garrison should have entered the city; namely, that he was to imprison the magistrates that had opposed the levying of the tenth-penny tax, and immediately to enforce its payment. The people were rejoiced to learn of Hampi's success regarding the city's defenses, and were inclined to trust him. The construction of the castle, and the strengthening of the walls, besides contributing to the security of the city, would also provide work for many. Like other residents of maritime cities, they, too,

had suffered damage and loss of occupation through the activity of the Sea Beggars.

As if to ascertain the condition of the walls, the wily Hampi, on April 3d and 4th, made large breaches in them at five different points. At the same time, he informed those that desired to take the contract for strengthening the city's fortifications, to appear at an appointed day at the city hall. These breaches were to serve as additional entrances for the Spanish soldiers, should difficulties with the burghers arise!

Not satisfied with what he had already accomplished, Hampi had the keys of the city gates duplicated, and secretly dismantled the cannon on the walls. On the following day he doubled the guards, and, at the same time, warned the burghers not to feel alarmed if, at night, they should happen to hear any commotion, as it would only be a body of soldiers sent to strengthen the garrison. Whether the burghers were wholly satisfied or not with this explanation is not known; but wind and tide were unpropitious, and in the night of Saturday, April 5th, 1572, the ships, having on board the Spanish troops, were obliged to cast anchor outside the harbor.

That same evening reports began to circulate that the Sea Beggars had taken Brielle, and although this knowledge might not have saved Flushing, had the Spaniards been able to effect a landing during the night, it is certain that the happy news exercised a decisive influence upon the events of the following day.

Early in the morning of Easter Sunday, April 6th, 1572, a stranger—by his dress and distinguished bearing easily recognized as a man of prominence—arrived in a small sailing vessel, and, upon landing, quietly stationed himself within earshot of the crowds gathered on the quay. This

stranger was Jan Van Kuik, Lord of Erpt, who had come to Flushing with the express purpose of spreading the news of the capture of Briel, and with the intention of persuading the people of Flushing to declare themselves for the prince.

While acting as if also looking at the vessels, which had the troops on board, he was really intently listening to the conversations around him. These were wholly in regard to the vessels outside the harbor, with here and there remarks about the Sea Beggars and Den Briel. After having listened closely for some time to the discussions of the groups near him, Van Kuik at last joined one group where dissatisfaction with present conditions seemed greatest. Without hesitation he told of what they already knew—the taking of Den Briel. He further informed them that the prince was approaching with a powerful army, and, if the burghers would only refuse to receive the new garrison,—this time consisting of Spaniards,—the prince and the Sea Beggars would soon arrive to give them all needed assistance. At the same time, he strongly impressed upon their minds the use that Alba would make of the castle, when completed. The self-confident manner of Van Kuik so impressed the people that they immediately took him for an emissary of the prince or of the Sea Beggars, and were inclined to trust him implicitly. The conversation, duly magnified, and the news that an emissary of the Sea Beggars was among them, soon spread over all the quay and throughout the city, until the entire town was before long earnestly discussing the feasibility of repulsing the Spanish soldiers.

But there was still another force at work among them. The parish priest, the reverend Johannis Dirckzen Vos, was not only one of the most patriotic Netherlanders, but, for personal reasons, entertained a bitter hatred against the Spaniards. Two years before they had burnt his brother

Arend, the village priest of De Lier, at the stake in The Hague. His death yet remained unavenged. At early mass, that auspicious Easter-morning, the priest had preached so eloquently against Spanish tyranny, and had warned his parishioners so earnestly against admitting the Spanish troops within their gates, that all who had listened to his impassioned speech had left the church with the stern resolve never to permit a single soldier to enter. Outside the edifice the sermon was discussed and repeated, and all firmly resolved to act upon their priest's advice.

And now there came a third incentive to resist; the strongest, perhaps, of all. Meantime the quartermasters had arrived from Arnemuiden, to prepare quarters for the expected Spaniards, who, according to the historian Pers, numbered seventeen companies. The city magistrates, either through fear or inclination, were willing to accommodate the new garrison, and were soon busily engaged with the preparations. But the burghers were differently inclined. The quartermasters had been seen going to the city hall, and soon this news also spread through the town. Several hundreds of burghers hastened to the city hall, crying out, "Treason! Treason!" at the same time directing one another to go and arm at once. Arriving in front of the city hall, they loudly called out that they did not want Spaniards, and that the magistracy was not to admit them without the consent of the burghers. One of the burgomasters was foolish enough to ask: "If we consent to receive the Spaniards, will you be able to prevent us?" This arrogant question tended but to increase the excitement. And the quartermasters not only maltreated some of the burghers, but one of them even declared that the people would be obliged not only to house and board the soldiers, but would also have to consent to the Spaniards taking possession of the burgh-

ers' wives and daughters! This insult almost cost the quartermasters their lives, saving themselves only by a precipitate flight from the town.

The tale of what had happened at the city hall was soon known over all the town, and every one resolved to keep out the insolent Spaniard, at any cost. Thousands sped to the bastion, only to find that the cannon there had been dismantled. Another piece, with as much powder and shot as they thought they would need, was forcibly procured from the arsenal and conveyed to the bulwark facing the Spanish ships. They were not a minute too soon; the ships had already begun to hoist sails and to raise anchors, preparatory to making for the harbor. Unfortunately, not one among the assembled burghers had any knowledge of loading and firing heavy artillery. But a poor drunkard, Joost Nolles, —a former Sea Beggar, who, on account of his intemperate habits, had been obliged to quit the Beggar Fleet,—was also present, half-intoxicated as usual. He knew how to serve artillery. And it was time to act too, for the ships were already facing the harbor. Soon it would be too late. Nolles loaded and aimed the piece, and a cannon ball struck the water, dangerously near one of the ships.

As a reward for his invaluable service poor Nolles was presented by Van Kuik with a small sum of money.

The vessels immediately lowered sail and cast anchor; for, owing to the tide and the contrary wind, they would be unable to return. Osorio Angelo, commander of the Spanish troops on the vessels, ordered one of the sailors to swim to the shore and ask why they fired upon ships that carried his royal majesty's troops? Upon his arrival the man most abjectly besought the burghers not to fire again, as the ships would depart with the next favorable tide. The burghers, much pleased at their easy victory, not only

promised to desist if the Spaniards would not try to land, but kindly returned the shivering messenger in a rowboat. Fear of the consequences induced the Spaniards to keep their promise, and as soon as wind and tide served them they retreated upon Middelburg. The trouble had now begun to grow serious, and the magistrates of Flushing, fearing the worst, hastily despatched a messenger to Middelburg to request Zeeland's stadholder, the Lord of Wacken, to come immediately to their city. Wacken entertained the most absurd notions of his own power and influence over the people. He believed it would be an easy matter for him to silence the mob, to reason with them, or awe them into submission. He therefore went without troops and attended by only a small body-guard. Arriving at the city hall, he ordered the people called to the market-place, where, from the balcony, he asked, whether everything they had done was reasonable? The answer came that he himself was the cause of it. He then inquired, whether they would prefer a Walloon or a German garrison to one composed of Spaniards? To this they replied: "Neither one nor the other!"

The stadholder now began to exhort and lecture the people. After a while they began to consider his pleadings absurd, and loudly laughed at him, calling out: "This is a beautiful lamb's-tongue to deliver us up to the wolves!" He then began to threaten; and several of the more hot-headed burghers, thinking he had gone far enough, were with difficulty prevented from assaulting him. The result was, that the Lord of Wacken, their chief magistrate, deemed it prudent to quit the city, trusting to time and the prowess of the Spaniards to obtain his revenge for the indignities offered to him. He did not, however, return by land, but called a small yacht, and was taken to one of the troop-ships.

Many of the witty and insulting rejoinders to Wacken's queries and pleadings were prompted by Van Kuik, Lord of Erpt, who had quietly joined the throng in front of the city hall. Whenever the stadholder seemed to make a favorable impression, Van Kuik had a sarcastic remark or an appropriate answer ready, audible to those around him, which was certain to be taken up by those standing near, and, in loud tones, was hurled at the speaker upon the balcony.

Meantime the Walloon garrison had to be attended to, although it was really too weak to offer much resistance, and most of the soldiers had not even left their quarters. Beauvois, their commander, believed if he could only gain time he might be able to save the city for his master. He therefore spoke as if he greatly approved of the conduct of the burghers in repelling the Spaniards, and hoped that he and his soldiers would be permitted to stay. But the people of Flushing, not to be caught by so transparent a ruse, ordered the Walloon garrison to depart at once. Beauvois was given two days to adjust his affairs, then compelled to go also.

The burghers now mounted guard in place of the soldiers, demolished the partly-built walls of the castle, repaired the breaks in the city walls, remounted the cannon—and Flushing became free ! To complete the work of liberation, the magistracy was changed ; a civic guard was immediately formed, divided into four companies, and a captain and officers were elected for each company. An armed guardship was stationed in the harbor, to be ready for any surprise from the sea-side.

Messengers were now sent out. Van Kuik took it upon himself to acquaint the Sea Beggars at Den Briel with the event and to request reinforcements. At the same time he sent a messenger from Dordrecht to the prince at Dillenburg. Other messengers were sent to England to spread the happy

news among the exiles there, and to request assistance in men and money.

But about the time of the departure of these messengers for England, some timid people, fearing the return of the Spaniards, and the revenge of the Duke of Alba, left the city in a number of fishing-smacks, intending to seek a safe retreat in England. Near the headland of Dover the fugitives met De Ryck, just returning from England with reinforcements for Den Briel. When he learned of Flushing's liberation and the need of immediate assistance there, he assembled a council of war, and resolved to sail for Flushing instead of Den Briel. This plunged him into trouble with the imperious Lumey, who would have made De Ryck suffer the death penalty for this breach of discipline had it been possible. The admiral of the Sea Beggars had to be satisfied with ineffectually ordering De Ryck's arrest, and publicly denouncing him as a mutineer and deserter of his standard.

De Ryck arrived at Flushing before April 10th, and this valuable addition to the number of Flushing's defenders calmed the fears of the people. On April 8th, two days after the great event, a body of two hundred men arrived from places nearby, thus increasing the forces of Flushing's defenders. As soon as the news spread far and wide, numbers of adventurous spirits arrived from among the exiles in Germany and England, from Flanders, and even from far-away La Rochelle, ready to defend with their lives the newly-acquired freedom of Flushing.

From Den Briel, however, no speedy assistance was to be expected. In case of a fresh assault by the Spaniards, Lumey would need all his available men; besides, several had left the place for a cruise in the waters of Friesland and of North and South Holland. As soon as the Sea Beggars

at Brielle had been sufficiently reinforced, and no danger of a speedy return of the Spanish hosts was perceived, their admiral despatched some of the Beggars' ships under Blois Van Treslong to Flushing. Most of the crews, however, were raw recruits, who had to be armed upon their arrival. On April 20th Treslong cast anchor before Flushing. Now the burghers felt doubly safe. They were certain that with the Sea Beggars among them they would be able to resist any attack. The cry "The Beggars have come!" invited thousands to the harbor, and all did their utmost to show their heartfelt appreciation and joy upon meeting the men that were thought to be the conquerors and gallant defenders of Den Briel.

Still the authorities of Flushing were not quite satisfied with the assistance that they had so opportunely received from all directions. With an eye to their own safety, and in view of the great efforts they intended to make to gain over the entire Island of Walcheren, they addressed the following letter to the headquarters of the Netherland exiles in England:

"We doubt not but that you have heard the rumor of what we have done with our people against the Spanish garrison. It is most certainly a great favor of God that we found so good an opportunity to execute our business well, but it is a yet greater favor that this attempt succeeded so well that—a few unwilling burghers excepted—we have thus repulsed the Spaniards, so that they could not overpower our city. However, we shall not think that we have gained a complete victory until we shall have received assistance. For the Spaniards, as you will easily understand, will move heaven and earth, and use every means, to attack us unexpectedly, or to trap us by a ruse, and thus again get us into their power. Nearly every one among us is favorable to the

liberty of the country, but large sums of money are needed, and most people are slow to contribute anything. It will be your duty, and we pray you most earnestly, not to ignore our needs, as this event tends to the glory of God, the honor of the king, and the common well-being of the Netherlanders. We promise to take care that the city shall stand security for the money that you will send us, and that the same shall be repaid to you as soon as quiet and peace shall have been restored.

"We have admitted the prince's soldiers [the Sea Beggars] into our city, partly for the sake of greater safety, partly that no one shall think that we intend to undertake anything against the king. The people of Veer, and the country people, have publicly offered us assistance, but those of Middelburg are still in submission to the Spanish garrison. With the help of God we expect to have little trouble in teaching that city its duty, if you, and others who are interested in it, will only assist us with soldiers and money; and we feel assured that you will very willingly do so.

"We would prefer a small number of soldiers, if they be only loyal and experienced in warfare, and not inclined to piracy.

"As to the other events here, you will be fully informed by Joost Faes, who is known to you, and of whose faithful services we have availed ourselves in many instances.

"Farewell, and pray God that He may bless and steady our enterprise.

Flushing, April 26th, 1572.

Your Loving Friends the Magistrates and Captains of the Flushing People."

A few days after Flushing had cast off the Spanish yoke, Alba's nephew—Don Fernando Pacieco—the architect of

the citadel, entered the harbor. He did not know that Flushing had left the side of the Spaniards, and the fog had prevented him from seeing the prince's colors upon the city tower. He had been making a tour of inspection of the Zeeland waters and harbors, and possibly was sent by Alba to supervise the further construction of the castle.

As soon as he was landed and the people had recognized him, they clamored for his life. He was obnoxious to every Netherlander not only because he was Alba's kinsman, but owing to the detestation they felt toward him for his shameful conduct while governor of Deventer.

Fortunately for the Spanish party, De Ryck, who had just arrived from England, was close at hand, and to him the Spaniards surrendered; not, however, before Pacieco had been severely wounded about the head. While being conducted to the city hall the revengeful people still endeavored to tear the Spaniard from his guard and throw him into the water. The guard was obliged to take shelter in the house of a citizen, when the street was immediately closed. Late at night, when most of the people had gone home, the guard found an opportunity to convey the Spaniards to the city prison.

Day after day the people demanded the death of the Spanish prisoners, but for more than two weeks longer the magistrates succeeded in saving them. Then the fateful 20th day of April arrived, and, with the entrance on that day of Treslong and his two hundred Sea Beggars, the prisoners were doomed: the Beggar chief craved revenge for his brother's execution.

On April 29th, 1572, Pacieco and his two companions were sentenced to die the death they had bestowed upon so many innocent Netherlanders, and before nightfall their inanimate bodies were dangling from the gallows. The city

of Deventer, Flushing's parish priest, and the Sea Beggar Treslong all won their revenge.

Affairs at Flushing had kept on improving. A partisan of the prince—a rich merchant at Antwerp, Jelis Hooftman—had, at the request of Flushing's admiral, Ewout Pietersz Worst, provided the city with a large quantity of ammunition and other necessaries of war. He also advanced money for further equipments, and within four months after the casting off of the yoke Flushing possessed a fleet of a hundred and fifty small but sufficiently-manned and well-equipped ships. The people of Flushing were now able to take the offensive, and to attack the Spaniard in his securest strongholds.

Chapter Three.

The Change at Veer.

LYN TAYEN and Koeyevleesch, two fishermen of Der Veer, or Veere, on the northeast coast of the Island of Walcheren, had been imprisoned in Den Briel, but were liberated without a ransom and their vessels restored to them by the Sea Beggars when the latter captured that city. Upon their return to Veer these two fishermen were full of praise for the prowess of the Sea Beggars; for their generosity, and for their partiality for the fishermen. They further contrasted the Spanish tyranny with the condition of affairs that they had just witnessed at Brielle, and strongly advocated a change in favor of the prince and his valiant Sea Beggars.

Furthermore, the prince himself had already written to the city authorities about taking part with him, and the gallant act of Flushing, only a few miles distant, was freely discussed among Veer's burghers. The people of this small but very important Zeeland town were slowly being prepared for the momentous change, and when the opportune time arrived they were ready to take the step and accept all the consequences attending it.

On Friday, May 2d, 1572, the Beggar Chief Jeronymus Tseraerts, accompanied by Van Erpt, departed with sixty men from Flushing, for the purpose of demanding the surrender of Veer. The men were ordered to wait before the closed gate, but Tseraerts and Van Erpt received permission

to enter and to treat with the authorities at the city hall. The magistrates, chiefly from fear of Spanish revenge, decided not to commit their city to the prince. Tseraerts and his little band of sixty returned to Flushing. But not so the Lord of Erpt. This bold and determined partisan of liberty and progress resolved to do what he had done at Flushing, and to free Veer with the assistance of its own citizens.

He took up his quarters at one of the principal inns in the city, inviting the fishermen to come and see him there and have a conversation with him. They came. The result of the conversation was that they resolved to ignore their timid magistrates, and to take matters into their own hands. But they needed the assistance of a few soldiers. In the middle of the night a messenger on horseback was despatched to Flushing, and, with the dawn of day, on May 3d, 1572, Captain Jeannin and forty Frenchmen of La Rochelle were at the city gate, demanding admission. At the same time, the fishermen opened the gate by force, the soldiers entered—and Veer was free.

The bailiff of the town, Yonker Jeronymus Rollé, and his Spanish partisans in the city council, did not know how to act at first. They had been taken by surprise. Jeannin and his men were assigned quarters in the church by the authorities. But the soldiers had hardly entered when the church doors were locked upon them: Jeannin and his little band were prisoners. A messenger was now hurriedly sent by Rollé to Middelburg, but an hour's walk distant. The burghers also sent immediately to Flushing for help.

The Spaniards, sent from Middelburg, arrived at Zandyk as the Sea Beggars under De Ryck from Flushing arrived at the Zuyderhoofd; here the latter were awaited and strengthened by a large number of well-armed fishermen of Veer. As soon as De Ryck had been informed of the presence of the

Spaniards at Zandyk, he rushed out of the city gate, unexpectedly attacked the Spanish force, and after a brief, sanguinary battle totally defeated and pursued them till under the walls of Middelburg. Exhausted with their long fight and pursuit of the enemy, the victors returned late at night to Veer, only to find the gates closed again, and admission refused them. Some of the fishermen, however, knew of a secret passage into the city. They entered, woke their sleeping fellow-townsmen, again opened the gate by force, and admitted De Ryck and his heroic followers.

Their first work was now to free Jeannin and his Frenchmen; their next to secure Rollé. The latter, however, anticipating his would-be captors, had jumped into a fishing-smack and escaped in the direction of Middelburg. The pursuers immediately followed and overtook him. Conducted to the city hall, he, as well as the rest of the magistrates, swore allegiance to the prince as the king's stadholder of Holland and Zeeland, and all were reinstated in their offices.

Rollé afterward became admiral of Veer, and in this capacity was one of the most active and successful partisans of William the Silent.

Here also the Sea Beggars under De Ryck, during the desultory Spanish attacks against the city, rendered the greatest assistance, and did much to help in saving Veer, especially on May 10th, when, through the treason of two citizens, the town was nearly surprised by the Spaniards from Middelburg. The attempt was fortunately discovered in time, and the traitors executed in full view of the Spaniards, who thereupon hanged, in the orchards surrounding the town, every burgher of Veer that they had captured. The people of Veer again retaliated by forthwith hanging every Spaniard that they had captured, or drowning them in the river Scheldt.

Veer now was not only free but wished also to assist others in the struggle for liberty. On May 22d, during the siege of Middelburg, they sent their admiral, Bastian De Lange, to assist the Flushing Beggars under Worst. Four Spanish vessels attacked his ship, and De Lange, with defeat and imprisonment or worse staring him in the face, set fire to his gunpowder, blew up his ship and crew, and destroyed his Spanish assailants.

About this time Van Kuik's earlier mission began to bear fruit for the city. The people of Veer had sent him to Norwich to ask the exiles there for immediate assistance both in men and money, principally to meet Alba's military preparations in Brabant. In response, a company of English mercenaries, under Captain Morgan, and of Scotch, under Captain Balfour, were sent over. To these Tseraerts, who had been appointed stadholder of Walcheren by the prince, added one or two companies of Frenchmen. They did not arrive any too soon. Hardly had they found time to acquaint themselves a little with the situation of the city and the surrounding country, when a strong body of Spanish troops landed at the Haak—not far from Veer—and marched along the Polderdyk toward the north side of the city, where there were no fortifications. Upon being informed of the enemy's approach, the defenders hastily threw up intrenchments of fish-barrels and casks—for which reason this quarter of the city was long known as Tonnenburg or Caskborough. The crude defenses, however, were no barrier against Spanish prowess. The Spaniards forced a passage, and, thinking they had already captured the city, began to kill and plunder.

De Ryck, however, at the head of his company of Sea Beggars, did not despair. Remembering, too, Treslong's successful attempt to burn the vessels of the Spanish assail-

ants of Den Briel in the Bornisse, he resolved to duplicate the feat. The flow of the ebb would greatly facilitate an attack against the Spanish ships, anchoring before the Haak. Abandoning, then, the defense of the city to the soldiers, the Beggar captain withdrew as many of his men and of the fishermen as he thought he would need; shipped them on a number of fishing-smacks and sloops lying in the harbor, and after having taken on board as many combustibles and as much inflammable material as could be hurriedly gathered, he floated with the tide to the Spanish vessels.

The slight resistance met with here was soon overcome, the ships were set on fire, and when the Spaniards perceived the smoke and flame arising from their vessels, their courage was paralyzed. The garrison, on the other hand, whose courage had much increased upon beholding the flames, renewed their attacks. The Spaniards fled, behind them De Ryck and his men in full pursuit, having just landed on the dyke that the Spaniards had followed in their precipitate escape to Middelburg. This futile attack cost the Spaniards between six hundred and seven hundred men. Owing to the havoc they wrought among the enemy's forces, De Ryck's company, from this time on, was known as the "Bloody Company." As a reward for his great services to the city on this and on other occasions, De Ryck was appointed Admiral of Veer by the grateful people, and his "Bloody Company" permanently taken into the pay of the city. In his capacity of admiral the noble Sea Beggar was now in a position to render, further, many an invaluable service to the cause of his country's freedom.

Chapter Four.

Zierikzee Lost and Regained.

AS soon as Alba had recovered from the effects of the discouraging news of the fall of Briel and the repulse of the Spanish troops at Flushing, he at once began to devise means by which he could regain that which he had lost, and to prevent losing what he still possessed.

For the first purpose he gathered an army at Bergen op Zoom, having concentrated there as many troops as could be spared from the various garrisons. For the second purpose he addressed letters to the magistrates of the principal cities, asking whether they did not deem it prudent to receive royal garrisons instead of entrusting the defense of their walls to their own citizens. The wily Spaniard trusted to the well-known pro-Spanish proclivities of the magistracies of those cities. They could gain nothing by embracing the cause of liberty, but would, on the contrary, lose everything should they thwart Alba, and should the powerful hosts of Spain in the Netherlands be afterward victorious.

The magistracy of Zierikzee—then a prosperous commercial, fishing and shipbuilding town of about 15,000 inhabitants, on the Island of Schouwen in the province of Zeeland—had, on April 23d, received a similar letter from the duke, and, for the purpose of discussing its contents, the city council, two days later, convened at the city hall.

The burgomaster, a very rich man, was a strong partisan

of Spain, from motives of self-interest. The bailiff, who had been Alba's barber, had been promoted to his high position by Alba's intercession, and could be relied on not to undertake or advise anything contrary to Spanish interests. The great majority among the councilors were either stanch supporters of the royal authority or were too timid to indicate their real convictions by a dissenting vote.

Only one among the members—Lieven Jans Boheym,—alias Kaarsemaker—advised against receiving any Spanish soldiers. He pointed to the many difficulties they had formerly had with the royal garrisons, and he argued that, since so many hundreds among their own burghers had been thrown out of employment through the troublous times, it would be bad policy to inflict upon their city a horde of rapacious alien soldiers. Much better would it be for the town to equip a few companies of city-guards from among their own idle burghers, who would then be furnished with the means to provide for their families, several of whom were suffering because of the enforced idleness of the breadwinners.

The burgomaster, however, answered his objections by dwelling upon Alba's resentment in case of their refusal, and by pointing out the defenseless condition of the city, the boldness of the Sea Beggars, and the impossibility of ridding the waters of their unwelcome presence.

The resolution in favor of receiving a garrison was carried with only one dissenting vote, and Alba was to be requested to protect the city by sending royal troops. Before separating, however, the members of the city council promised under oath not to divulge the contents of the resolution. They feared its influence upon the people, and also deemed it prudent to surprise them.

Fortunately there lived in the town a man, Jan Rombouts by name—an attorney at law—who could not be deceived.

He was not only an ardent patriot, but also stood in secret relation with the Sea Beggars. He had but just returned from Flushing, where Treslong had assured him that the Sea Beggars would not molest the ships of Zierikzee, if the city would only remain neutral and not receive a royal garrison.

Rombouts took care to spread this intelligence among the people, and also to obtain, by adroit questioning of a member of the magistracy, not altogether sober, information about the decision of the city council regarding the admitting of soldiers. It was already surmised, as it had been rumored a few days after the decision, that the burgomaster and several wealthy residents of the city had begun to put much of their jewelry into safe hiding-places.

As soon, therefore, as it was positively known Zierikzee was to receive a royal garrison, several hundreds of burghers, consisting principally of fishermen, sailors, ship-carpenters, wood-sawyers, sailmakers, and other people connected with the sea and a seafaring life, congregated in front of the South harbor gate. When the magistrates appeared on the spot, for the purpose of quieting the multitude, they were greeted with cries emanating from many hundreds of strong lungs: "No soldiers! No garrison!"

With great difficulty the magistrates induced the people to appoint delegates from among them to discuss the matter at the city hall. The assembled burghers selected four delegates, one of them being Jan Rombouts, the attorney. He was to be the spokesman. To better hands the matter could not have been entrusted.

As soon as he appeared at the city hall, the thousands of armed burghers waiting below, ready to support him in all of his demands, Rombouts required of the city council that the burghers should be immediately mustered into companies. They were, moreover, to have the right to elect their own

commander, whom every one, even the magistrates themselves, should obey. The magistrates, at the same time, were to promise under oath that they would do everything in their power to prevent the alien soldiery from entering the city's gates.

The single condition that the magistrates ventured and were permitted to make was that a member of the magistracy should be elected military commander. Thus they imagined that they would be able to retain the power in their own hands, and that when the time for action came, they would still prevail.

To their astonishment Rombouts readily consented to this proposal, and, upon his advice, the people consented too, though less readily.

Rombouts hereupon proposed Kaarsemaker as commander of the burgher forces, and the thousands of strong-voiced men answered as in chorus : " Long life to Kaarsemaker! Kaarsemaker be our captain ! " Again the burgomaster and his pro-Spanish sympathizers had been foiled !

Kaarsemaker now received the keys of the five city-gates and of the arsenal. From this time the city was guarded by its own burghers, to the exclusion of the company of pike-bearers and other mercenaries whom the magistrates had enlisted, and whose officers also had been appointed by and were dependent upon the city council. With the help of these mercenaries, the magistrates under any circumstances expected to be able in due time to gain their ends.

Now the Beggar songs freely resounded through the streets of this most ancient of Zeeland's towns. No more prisons yawned, no more racks waited for any one bold enough to sing the praise of his nation's heroes. The victory gained by the Sea Beggars at Briel had paved the way for the freedom of Zierikzee.

The city authorities had informed Alba that they would gladly receive the protection of a royal garrison. They had not written to the duke about the unexpected self-assertion of the popular will, trusting to circumstances, and to violence if need be, to open the way for the Spanish soldiers.

Early in the morning of May 7th, 1572, the ships conveying the Spanish garrison were sighted, and soon the news spread over all the town.

Immediately the court messenger was ordered to summon the city council. He was, however, to direct Kaarsemaker to appear half an hour later than the others, in order to devise means by which to keep him away from the people, who would then have no leader, and also to get the Spaniards within the town. The ruse, however, ingeniously conceived as it was, was frustrated at the last moment ; even if it had succeeded it would not have benefited just then the cause of Spain.

To the astonisment of every one the ships passed the harbor. The people already congratulated each other, thinking that the bailiff, who had sought safety in flight on board of the Spanish vessels after the trick to be played on Kaarsemaker had been discovered, had told the commander of the state of affairs in the town, and advised him not to proceed. The truth of the matter was that the Spanish commander had orders first to land a part of his troops upon the Island of Walcheren, opposite, and then to return to Zierikzee with the rest.

On the evening of May 7th, 1572, sorrow reigned in the house of Kaarsemaker, the commander of the Zierikzee burgher-guard. One of his children had just died ; another was struggling with death. The wife and mother, fearing that her husband might be called away, had given strict orders to the servant not to deliver any messages for him.

The fishermen and sailors that kept guard upon the jetty, about two miles distant from the town, had seen the Spanish ships return. They were thirty in number, and made straight for the harbor. At dawn, word of the enemy's approach was immediately sent to the city and to Kaarsemaker. Thousands of excited but determined people soon filled the streets. Several times the knocker on Kaarsemaker's door had been sounded, but no message for him had been delivered ; the people outside, knowing of his bereavement and affliction, respected his sorrow. They did not want to intrude upon him, but the city was in danger, and in the opinion of the people he was the only man able to save them. Their several messages, it was evident, had failed to reach him, and he must be made acquainted with the danger and the news that thousands of his townspeople were waiting to be led by him.

It was now after three o'clock in the morning and the ships would soon arrive. At last, one among the waiting throng proposed to inform him of their presence by the singing of that thrilling battle hymn of the Sea Beggars :

"Wilhelmus of Nassau."

The mighty sound of thousands of voices was wafted over to Kaarsemaker among his dead and dying, and now the situation became known to him. *Vox populi, Vox Dei.*

He buckled on his armor, took leave of his sorrowing wife, and, with bleeding heart, resolved to perform his duty as a citizen and as the chosen leader of his fellow-townsmen. He then joined the waiting multitude upon the wide square facing his house.

Out of sympathy with his great sorrow he was received with a respectful silence, and the condition of affairs briefly explained. Immediately the majority of the armed

burghers present hastened to the entrance of the harbor. They arrived not one minute too soon. Upon Kaarsemaker's arrival seven of the ships had already disembarked their troops, and the watchers, in the absence of their leader, had been at loss how to act.

Fortunately the commander of the disembarked Spanish troops, uncertain of the reception to be accorded him by the townspeople, had not ventured to march ahead, but had resolved to await the arrival of the other ships, which were fast approaching.

Kaarsemaker, meanwhile, first convinced himself that all the cannon at the entrance of the harbor—nine in number—were still loaded. He then ordered water to be poured over the jetty and the dyke in its immediate neighborhood to prevent the Spaniards from setting fire to them. He then manned some of the largest fishing-boats lying near, with well-armed fishermen and sailors, selected a detachment of seventeen sharpshooters from among the burgher-guard, and approached the Spanish soldiers.

Their commander, Henry Tseraerts, a brother of the Sea Beggar, unlike the latter, had joined his country's enemies. Kaarsemaker ordered Tseraerts to reëmbark his troops immediately. Tseraerts replied that he was there by virtue of a request made to him by the bailiff, upon the authority of the city magistrates. Kaarsemaker answered that this was an invention, as the bailiff had yesterday suddenly quit the island without having been authorized to make such a request. Tseraerts thereupon said that it was in accordance with an earlier petition for a garrison by the city magistrates, and that the Duke of Alba had given him explicit orders to occupy the town.

Kaarsemaker, disinclined to parley further, now ordered Tseraerts to embark his troops immediately; he himself was

the only one in command at present. The Spanish officer thereupon replied that he perceived it was time to protect Zierikzee against the rebels and the Beggars, but that for the sake of preventing difficulties, he would submit and await further orders.

There was, however, little wind, and the current was too strong; besides, several Beggar ships were anchored outside, near Katshoeck. Tseraerts, therefore, asked to be permitted to sail with the current into the Gouwe, a small stream passing by the city; the Spanish commander well knew that once in the Gouwe, the city would be at his mercy. And Kaarsemaker knew it too. He not only refused, but ordered the immediate embarkation of the troops, who could then, riding at anchor in the river Scheldt, wait for the turn of the tide at a reasonable distance from the harbor.

Tseraerts now went on board one of the other ships, which had just arrived. But he delayed the embarkation of his troops. He evidently wanted to gain time. The other ships also approached and made straight for the harbor. The people were now in a dangerous situation, between two fires, —that of the approaching ships, and of the landed troops.

Kaarsemaker quickly divided his forces into two divisions. The sailors and the fishermen, under the leadership of the captain of their guild, Lieven Heere, were to attack the ships. He himself, with a part of the civic guards and the other burghers, would attend to the landed troops. Another body had been detached to serve and to protect the heavy artillery.

Now the cannon at the entrance of the harbor began to play on the approaching vessels. The landed troops, hree hundred strong, also came in for their share. They marched at double quick, not only for the purpose of escaping the

scathing fire, but also to meet the burghers, who were moving against them. As long as they did not close in upon one another the well-directed musket-fire of the Spanish veterans made sad havoc in the ranks of the burghers. But scarcely had they come to close quarters, when the strong, long knives, the daggers and the axes of the citizen soldiers, and especially their superiority of numbers began to tell against the clumsily-armed and equipped Spaniards. For every burgher that fell there was another ready to take his place, and within an hour after the battle began, of more than three hundred Spanish soldiers that had set foot on the Island of Schouwen, not one was left unhurt. Quarter had been neither asked nor granted on either side; it had been a life and death struggle.

After this bloody victory, Kaarsemaker and the remnant of his gallant burghers turned their attention to the condition of affairs on the jetty. Three of the approaching ships had been sunk, and only lack of ammunition on the jetty saved the others, whose crews now did their utmost to change their course and to make their escape. But the elated victors were in no mood to permit the fleeing Spaniards to escape so easily.

Many fishing-boats and smacks were moored to the dyke, and landsmen, as well as fishermen and sailors, importuned Kaarsemaker to lead them on against the ships. But the hero believed enough blood had been spilt. The people persevered, however, and at last he consented. Part of the force remained behind to attend to the Spaniards that should try to escape from the ships to the shore. Hundreds of others filled the boats, and, propelled by sail and oar, soon overtook the slowly-moving Spanish transports. These were immediately boarded.

A terrible battle now ensued, in which the nimble and

lightly-equipped Zeelanders had, in nearly every instance, advantage over the heavily-armed Spaniards, who, fighting on unaccustomed ground, were no match for the undisciplined sailors and burghers.

After a stubbornly prolonged and bloody battle, the Spaniards at last perceived that they were vanquished. Too proud, however, to ask for quarter that they knew would not be granted, they fought on to the last, or else jumped overboard, some drowning, and others killed by the men in the boats. At nine o'clock in the morning the victory was complete; the conquered ships were taken into the harbor, and the city was safe.

But safe for a while only.

The victory, though barren of permanent results so far as Zierikzee was concerned, was of far-reaching consequences for Vlissingen and Veer. The loss of more than twenty vessels—among them five large warships and perhaps a thousand men—embarrassed Alba very much in his immediate attempts to relieve Middelburg. It also afforded the besiegers time and opportunity to fortify their works and to augment the number of men that were attacking Zeeland's capital.

The people of Zierikzee had made a great mistake in not changing their magistrates, or, at least, their presiding burgomaster. A few days after the great victory, these magistrates succeeded, on May 12th, through a ruse, in smuggling into the city three companies of Spanish soldiers, thus securing the town against the Sea Beggars.

But now the magistrates wanted their revenge upon Kaarsemaker. Happily he was warned in time, and, with the assistance of his friends among the fishers' guild, he escaped with his life, but also lost everything, his property being immediately confiscated and sold. On July 3d he

arrived safely at Hattingen, in the camp of the prince, who afterward honored him with several important offices and missions. And only the feebleness of the Spanish garrison, and the determined character of the city's population, saved Zierikzee from the horrible fate of Valenciennes, Rotterdam, and Mechelen.

The Sea Beggars, who were blockading the mouths of the river Scheldt, as well as every other important stream, now harassed the shipping and fisheries of Zierikzee, and thus, as a reward for the loyalty of their magistrates, a large part of the burghers were again prevented from earning their living.

The city of Zierikzee, dominating as it did the Islands of Schouwen and Duiveland, was too important a stronghold to permit the Spaniards the undisputed possession of it and the Sea Beggars now resolved to take the matter in hand.

First, the city magistrates received letters from Veer, issued by Jerome De Rollé, requesting them to take the side of the prince. But the presence of the garrison, as well as the personal fear of losing all their property should the Spaniards return and be victorious, induced the magistracy of Zierikzee, in opposition to the expressed desire of the great majority of the people, to remain loyal to the King of Spain. On July 31st, and again on August 4th and 5th, the great council not only formally refused every request of a like nature, made by their neighbors of Veer, but also resolved to go to the expense of further strengthening their already strong defenses.

Realizing this, the commanders of the Sea Beggars on the Island of Walcheren decided to parley no longer. On August 7th De Ryck and his now famous "Bloody Company," attended by Jeannin, Kloot, Haverschot, and Men-

ning, left Walcheren with their troops in twenty ships, and disembarked at the entrance of the harbor, long famous for the bloody victory of May 8th.

The Beggars were speedily confronted by a part of the Spanish garrison under Renax, armed with one field-piece. For De Ryck and his Beggars to force them back into the city was not a difficult thing to do.

The Beggars thereupon took and occupied the Zelke, a high artificial hill of ashes from the salt-refineries; planted their cannon along its slope and upon its top, and so absolutely commanded the city and its entrances, that further defense was impossible. Moreover, the burghers of Zierikzee were on the side of the besiegers, and a well-grounded fear existed that they would shut the gates behind them should the garrison attack in force the besiegers. A few well-directed shots from the Zelke, some weak and useless sallies by the garrison, and early in the morning of August 8th, 1572, the Beggar victory was complete, and the city capitulated to the prince as the king's stadholder of Holland and Zeeland. The garrison was permitted to leave the city carrying their swords only. Other arms, with the ammunition, were to be sent after them to Tholen, on their march to Bergen op Zoom—the Spanish headquarters for Zeeland and neighboring provinces.

So well pleased were the people of Zierikzee with the capture of their city, and so grateful were they to De Ryck, that the burghers, through their newly-elected city council, presented him with a gold chain, costing a hundred angelots, or two hundred and forty dollars in American money.

From that time the people of Zierikzee unreservedly cast in their lot with the Sea Beggars. Their ships, under the admiral of Zierikzee,—Adriaan Willemsz,—immediately joined the forces engaged in the reduction of the capital of their

province. And after the city of Middelburg had succumbed to the united efforts of the Zeeland towns, the sailors of Zierikzee, a few months later, took an honorable part in the relief of Leyden, then undergoing a siege.

Chapter Five.

The Cities North of the Y.

A. Enkhuizen.

ENKHUIZEN, situated at the entrance of the Zuiderzee, was the second town to throw off the Spanish yoke, Flushing having been the first.

Enkhuizen was a city of great importance; less on account of its size than that it dominated the navigation of the Zuiderzee. Thus it was in a position to cause incalculable damage to the commerce and shipping of Amsterdam, whose ships were obliged to pass Enkhuizen, going or returning from abroad. From the very beginning the Sea Beggars had had their eyes upon this city, desiring to convert it into a northern La Rochelle; while the Spaniards, for the same reasons, were anxious to keep possession of it.

Strange to say, however, neither the Duke of Alba nor his stadholder of Holland, Count Bossu, had ever deemed it necessary to station a permanent garrison there, thinking, perhaps, that the presence of the Zuiderzee squadron of the fleet was sufficient protection. Only once in a while, when the Sea Beggars in the Vlie became too bold or were too numerous, were a few companies of Spanish troops temporarily stationed at Enkhuizen, as also in a few neighboring towns; but hardly had the danger passed when the garrisons were again withdrawn.

But the lessons taught by the loss of Den Briel and the Zeeland towns had not been lost on Alba. He now resolved to provide those maritime cities—likely to become the butt of Beggar assaults—with permanent garrisons. Enkhuizen was to be one of them.

Alba had ordered his vice-admiral, Boshuizen, to equip a fleet of twenty ships at Amsterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen, ostensibly to endeavor to wrest Den Briel from the Sea Beggars. The ships were to meet before Enkhuizen, and Boshuizen, who had been ordered to embark a body of Spanish soldiers at Amsterdam, was to cast anchor in the roadstead of Enkhuizen, under pretext of taking in provisions, but really to throw a garrison into the town. For the purpose of facilitating matters, and to allay suspicion, the admiral sent at various times large bodies of sailors into the town, ostensibly to buy provisions. The burghers, however, always on their guard, were careful not to admit too many sailors at a time. Their caution naturally elicited angry protests from Boshuizen. But his protests availed him nothing.

The magistrates, as was generally the case, were favorable to the cause of Spain. But the burghers, and especially the fishermen and the sailors, made no secret of their preference for the cause represented by the Sea Beggars. Mistrusting their magistrates, and not liking the continued presence of the Spanish squadron so near their port, the people began to grow restless. The tension increased, until, on May 1st, one month after the conquest of Briel, Captain Schuylenburgh, a Netherlander in the service of Spain, himself ordered bread for his crew from a baker, whom he refused to pay at the time. The baker—doubtless from patriotic motives as much as from commercial distrust—declined to deliver the bread unless it was paid for in advance. During

the altercation that followed, the captain declared that Enkhuizen "was full of Beggars and scoundrels, who would be treated even worse than the people of Rotterdam."

This injudicious remark was overheard by bystanders, and was soon repeated throughout the city. The determination to keep out the Spaniards now became firmer than ever. At this time Captain Quickel appeared at one of the city gates, with a company of Spanish soldiers. He simply requested permission to march through the town, for the purpose of embarking his soldiers on the fleet. He was promptly told to take another route. On the following day Admiral Boshuizen himself, accompanied by a body-guard of halberdiers, came to town, and Quickel also appeared. Boshuizen was admitted, but a number of fully-armed burghers joined the city guards at the gate, and refused admittance to Quickel and his troops. Boshuizen himself took part in the controversy, and in the most haughty and insulting manner ordered the burghers to admit the king's soldiers. He was unceremoniously refused, and, deeming it wise to leave the spot, he retired to his lodgings in the town.

After some time spent in negotiations, the soldiers were permitted to pass through unarmed. They had hardly entered the town when the magistrates, by trickery, succeeded in smuggling in their arms. The enraged burghers, especially the seafaring portion, now attacked the soldiers and chased them out of town. Boshuizen himself was dragged out of his lodgings, and taken to the city hall, where he was imprisoned under a guard of burghers, who forced him to order the captains of his fleet to surrender their ships. This order was promptly obeyed by a few of the officers, who were secretly in favor of their country's cause.

The burghers thereupon boarded two of the warships, and removed their heavy cannon to the walls of the city. The

marketship of Amsterdam, loaded with thirty-five tons of gunpowder and some hundreds of muskets for the fleet, opportunely arrived also, and the entire cargo was confiscated for the use of the burghers, now well-provided with arms and ammunition.

Several hundreds of armed burghers then went to the city hall to be informed of the intentions of the magistrates, and to urge them to take sides against Spain. The magistrates argued with the people to receive a Spanish garrison, because, as they said, the city was not in a condition to defend itself against the Sea Beggars, whose ships were even now anchoring in the Vlie. Dirk Jans Brouwer and Cornelis Pieters Rietlus—two exiles, having returned from Emden upon receiving the news of the taking of Briel—answered for the people, and declared that they were not afraid of the Beggars, and that the city needed no Spanish garrison.

Thus affairs dragged on for several days. During this time the burghers were ever urging the magistrates to declare for the prince. In the interval, more exiles arrived from Emden and other localities, and the magistrates were powerless against the might of the people. On May 11th, the drost of Muiden, Paulus Van Loo, attempted to smuggle a shipload of Spanish soldiers into the town. But he had as little success as Quickel had had, and was forced to retire at the cannon's mouth.

Peter Luytges Buyskes, formerly one of Enkhuizen's most wealthy and influential burghers, had returned from his exile abroad, provided with a commission, issued to him by William the Silent, dated April 20th, 1572. It contained the order to Buyskes to take Enkhuizen and the Spanish warships. He also held a letter from the prince to the burghers, containing promises of speedy assistance. This letter and commission immediately placed Buyskes at

the head of the local insurrection, which now assumed the character of an organized revolt. When Buyskes saw that Van Loo was making for the harbor, he went immediately to the jetty, and as soon as the ship was within hailing distance he called out: "What is the nature of your business here, and where are you going with those soldiers?" Van Loo stated his business, and was not inclined to be so easily baffled, not even after Buyskes had ordered him to depart, and threatened to fire. Fortunately the loaded cannon was stationed on the dyke, and Brouwer, with burning match, was just about to fire, when he was prevented by another burgher. Muiden's drost, however, perceived the determination of the assembled burghers, and, deeming it wise not to provoke them further, he beat a hasty retreat.

The authorities, seeing the temper of the people, and dreading further disturbances, now promised not to receive any Spanish soldiers; while the burghers also promised not to invite the Sea Beggars, now waiting in the Vlie. The city was to remain neutral, though resolved not to permit the warships, riding in the harbor, to depart. As at Flushing, four captains were elected over the burgher-guards, and twelve burghers were appointed, who, with the present magistrates, were to attend to civil matters. For the purpose of guarding against surprise or treachery, the customary guard of sixty at the gates and on the walls was doubled, and the officers received strict orders to take good care that no man shirked his duty.

The burgomasters, fearful of losing their last chance, put off the augmenting of the guards as long as they could, but the burghers forced them to it, and they had to obey. A few days later they succeeded in smuggling Boshuizen out of the city; he escaped to Amsterdam, greatly to the regret of the burghers. The magistrates, at the same time,

prevailed upon the people to permit the imprisoned ships to leave the harbor. But one of them, drifting ashore, not far from the city, was burnt by the Sea Beggars that had come down from the Vlie.

This state of professed neutrality, obnoxious to both, was observed for about two weeks. At last the burghers tired of their neutral position, especially so since the magistrates, aided by the small portion of the population that still clung to Spain, had more than once vainly tried to cause the city to return to allegiance to the Duke of Alba.

Urged by Pieter Buyskes, the burghers, on May 21st, 1572, hoisted the prince's colors from the city tower, and declared for the prince. A number of people were immediately employed to strengthen the city's defenses, and a company of three hundred and fifty burghers was equipped to garrison the town provisionally. As there was not a penny to be found in the city treasury, Buyskes paid the garrison out of his own pocket, until the arrival of the Sea Beggars.

As soon as the city had declared itself, messengers were sent to the Vlie, Den Briel, and Emden, also to Sonoy, at Bremen, enlisting troops for the service of the prince. Hardly had the messengers circulated the happy news of Enkhuizen's revolt, when twenty-six warships, manned by five hundred Sea Beggars, arrived on May 22d from Emden, under Jelis Steltman, Tiete Hettinga, Willem Lievens, Niklaes Holbeek, Captain Wybe, and others. All were enthusiastically received by Enkhuizen's burghers. Neither did those Beggars arrive empty-handed. They brought with them ships loaded with grain, which they had captured on their way, and which there was great need of in the town.

A few days later a number of Sea Beggars, sent by Lumey from Den Briel under Captains Jacob Cabeljauw,

Niclaes Ruychaver, and Cornelis Loefsz Roobol, also arrived. Enkhuizen now was not only free, but in a position to assist its neighbors to throw off the Spanish yoke.

On May 28th the people took the precaution of changing their magistrates, and the new ones were required to subscribe to the following oath of office: "To be faithful to the king in his capacity of Count [of Holland], to the prince as his stadholder, and to the city of Enkhuizen; to resist the Duke of Alba, his partisans, the tenth and twentieth penny, and the tyrannical inquisition; to respect every one's liberty; to promote the city's good, and the welfare of the people; to assist and protect widows, orphans, unfortunates, and just causes, without fear or favor; not to divulge official secrets; not to commit injustice, neither for the sake of gifts or presents, nor to please friends or relatives, nor for any other reason."

On June 2d Sonoy arrived at Enkhuizen, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Voyaging in an open boat he was almost captured by the soldiers sent by Alba to garrison Medenblick. In fact, it was only by dint of fast rowing that he and his party escaped. As soon as Sonoy had been informed of the turn of affairs at Enkhuizen, he despatched a messenger, bearing the happy news, to William the Silent at Dillenburg, who, anticipating what was likely to happen, had, on April 20th, appointed Sonoy as his stadholder of West Friesland. This was the old historic name for a large part of North Holland, north of the Y, also often called the Northern Quarter.

Through this opportune appointment there was likely to be unity of purpose and of action in the further attempts to gain over the rest of that section of the country, as well as to establish a central authority and government for its component parts.

Sonoy immediately wrote for further reinforcements for the purpose of delivering the whole of West Friesland from Spanish domination. Without waiting for their arrival, however, he at once resolved to take the nearby city, Medenblick. Two companies of Sea Beggars under Cabeljauw and Ruychaver, and two companies of Enkhuizer burghers under their captains, Klaes Kroes and Jacob In't Hof, were sent to attack the town. Large numbers of burghers had, during the preceding few years, left Medenblick, and the majority of those that had remained leaned toward Spain.

After a brief resistance the besiegers forced the gates, and entered the city. The burghers retreated to the castle, which was strongly fortified, and resolved that with the assistance of the garrison they would stoutly defend themselves. But in their precipitate retreat they had had no time to remove their wives and children, who were still in the city. And now the assailants made use of a device that, though no longer permitted in present warfare, was often resorted to in those days.

The attacking party gathered the women and children, placed them in front of their forces, and marched against the fort. The defenders, not daring to shoot, surrendered the castle, and Medenblick was lost to the cause of Spain.

B. Hoorn.

Hoorn, another important city on the Zuiderzee, was also ready to declare against Alba and Spanish domination, and the people were waiting only for a favorable opportunity to throw off the yoke.

On April 20th the prince addressed a letter to the magistrates and people of Hoorn, in which he entreated them to break with the enemy of their country's liberty. The letter was received early in May and read at the council meeting,

and also to some influential burghers. But the verdict of the burghers was that they would await the turn of affairs at Enkhuizen. The city government, however, under the lead of the burgomaster, Jan Symons Rol, royal Vice-Admiral of Holland, was absolutely in favor of the Duke of Alba.

After the reading of the prince's letter the magistrates resolved to preserve the city for the Spanish King, and immediately wrote to Bossu, Alba's stadholder of Holland, for a royal garrison. Meanwhile, they provided themselves with ammunition, and when the time approached for the arrival of the expected garrison, the city fathers deemed it wise to secure the city hall and the principal streets leading to the market-square.

At five o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, May 22d, 1572, Rol ordered the city laborers to draw the cannon from the walls. He then had them loaded with shrapnel and stationed upon the market-square. It was the day of the annual fair, and unusually large numbers of people filled the streets. One of the burghers asked Rol why he had the cannon removed. The burgomaster answered: "What business is that of yours, fellow?" "Much," replied the other. Rol drew his sword, and threatened to run the burgher through. Immediately there was a commotion, and Rol was obliged to beat a hasty retreat. The burghers called out to one another that they had been betrayed, while at the same time they hastened to get their arms, and then barricaded their doors and windows. Soon the market-square in front of the city hall was filled with armed burghers. Rol, who had come out, was again forced to seek refuge in the city hall; while the city laborers, following the example set by their burgomaster, also dispersed.

The burghers now removed the artillery to the walls, whence it had been taken, and deposited the ammunition in

the arsenal. All this took place before eight o'clock in the evening.

While a part of the people were engaged in remounting the cannon, they were suddenly startled by the blowing of an unusual alarm from the city-hall tower by the city trumpeter. It may have been a preconcerted signal to the ships to sail away, they having on board the soldiers for the garrison. The alarmed burghers, however, fearing another trick, rushed up the stairs of the city hall, and burst into the council chamber. Here they were met by the magistrates, who were just about to leave to quiet the people.

But the people wanted to know at once what the signal meant. The burgomasters explained as best they could. Upon being individually asked why they had removed the cannon from the walls, where it belonged, each burgomaster gave a different explanation. This exasperated the people to such a degree that it was difficult to prevent several from laying violent hands upon their magistrates. Still, after some discussion, the authorities were not only permitted to leave unmolested, but even to continue in office, upon promise that, in the future, they would behave themselves, and not attempt to introduce innovations, or to receive letters from abroad without showing them at once to the captains and officers of the civic guard.

The burghers, however, did not deem themselves safe until they had searched the houses of the most violent partisans of Spain—to assure themselves that there were no soldiers hidden away. During this search they seriously threatened Burgomaster Rol, who escaped bodily harm only through the intercession of the more moderate among his political opponents. On the following day, May 23d, the burgomaster, thinking it prudent to quit the town, secretly left for Amsterdam.

A new commander was now appointed for the civic guard, which was augmented to eight companies; while on June 3d this force was further strengthened with three hundred and fifty volunteers from among the townspeople. Strong guards were nightly and daily stationed on the walls and at the gates, to keep out both Spaniards and Beggars, the city desiring to remain neutral.

Sonoy, the prince's lieutenant in West Friesland, and also the city of Enkhuizen, did everything in their power to induce Hoorn to declare for liberty and the prince. Negotiations were constantly going on, but the city council was obdurate. On June 18th, while the council was in session, a large number of burghers of Enkhuizen, with several returned exiles, presented themselves before the gates of Hoorn, requesting admission. The city council refused, but the officers of the guard, influenced by their men, threw open the gates, and the visitors were admitted.

Immediately the entire burgher force, officers and privates, took the oath of allegiance to William the Silent as the king's stadholder of North Holland, and declared that the Duke of Alba, his Spaniards, and adherents were enemies of the common weal. Several prominent burghers and members of the magistracy now followed the example of Burgomaster Rol, and left the city.

On the following day, June 19th, Jacques Hennebert, a captain of the Sea Beggars, who had taken part in the capture and defense of Briel, entered the city at the head of his men. At first the rough freebooters created some disturbances, and seemed to consider Hoorn somewhat like a conquered town. After having mentioned that, contrary to promises, the Sea Beggars were quartered upon the burghers, Hoorn's chronicler continues "not without causing much trouble, because these soldiers were a rough and un-

disciplined band, but hatred of the Duke of Alba made the people excuse everything." Two days later, Johannes Alveringen, Lord of Hoffeegen, who had been appointed governor of the town, made his entry into Hoorn. One of his first acts was to create order among the undisciplined garrison, who thereafter behaved like true soldiers and protectors of the burghers.

On June 28th Alkmaar followed Hoorn's example. Edam, Monnickendam, Haarlem, Gouda, Leyden, the whole of Holland—with the exception of Amsterdam, The Hague, and Schoonhoven—declared for the prince and liberty. Schoonhoven was soon gained over, The Hague followed later, but Amsterdam remained Spanish till 1578. The warships of Amsterdam continued to cause much damage to the shipping and to other interests of the cities on the Zuiderzee. Even Boshuizen was often successful in preventing the ships of Hoorn and Enkhuizen from navigating the Zuiderzee, and leaving the Vlie, and thereby, and in many other ways, causing great injury to those cities' interests. After having endured it for some time the Beggar spirit at last manifested itself, and culminated in a life-and-death struggle between the contending parties. This contest for the freedom of the Zuiderzee led to naval engagements, which gained for the Beggars one of the most brilliant victories of the war—a victory that put it forever out of the power of the Spanish authorities to intercept the shipping, and to damage the interests of the patriotic cities bordering upon the Zuiderzee.

Chapter Six.

Alcmaria Victrix.

(Victory began from Alkmaar.)

THE condition of the country had become almost hopeless. Early in the year 1573 nearly all that had been gained for the cause of liberty and progress in the Netherlands had again been lost. Bergen [Mons], Mechelen, Sutphen, Naarden, and Haarlem had, in quick succession, been recaptured by the victorious Spanish hosts. The four latter towns had been visited with such terrible punishment for their rejection of Spanish domination, that the tale of their martyrdom will forever leave a blot upon the character of the perpetrators.

The fall of Bergen [Mons] and of Mechelen had broken the strength of the revolt in the southern provinces. The capture of Sutphen had secured to Alba the middle eastern provinces. The fall of Haarlem had cut in two the province of Holland, and seemed to render it easy for the Spaniards to subdue the separated portions. The question was which to subdue first, the north or the south of Holland? It did not take Alba long to decide.

After having permitted his troops a few weeks' rest from the fatigues of the siege and from the subsequent atrocities of Haarlem, the Spanish governor-general decided to follow up his late successes by the speedy subjugation of the so-

called Northern Quarter of Holland, also named West Friesland, containing the northernmost section of the province of Holland, north of Waterland. In doing this he was doubtless prompted by his desire to save Amsterdam's commerce from the destructive activity of the Sea Beggars, infesting the Zuiderzee, who now possessed three excellent bases in the harbors of Hoorn, Enkhuizen, and Medenblick.

But before attacking any of those places, the Spanish general had need of a secure base of operations, and one not far removed from his headquarters at Amsterdam and Haarlem.

The city of Alkmaar—about midway between them all—would be the most natural base; therefore he resolved to take it before beginning operations against the seaboard towns.

From this place—out of reach of the warships—it would be an easy matter for Alba to subjugate the whole of West Friesland, and thus deprive his most dreaded and detested enemies, the Sea Beggars, of their northern maritime strongholds. Yonker Diederick Sonoy, the former Sea Beggar chief, appears to have foreseen this plan of the Spaniards. He had been appointed stadholder, or governor of West Friesland, by William the Silent, and in this capacity sent two Beggar captains, Yonker Jacob Cabeljauw, who had been appointed military governor, and Nicholas Ruychaver, with two companies of veteran Sea Beggars to occupy the city. Cabeljauw and Ruychaver, during the siege of Haarlem, had, with their troops, occupied the villages of Egmont and Heilo, for the purpose of protecting Alkmaar against any Spanish attempt from that direction.

On July 13th, 1573,—the day that Haarlem surrendered to the Spaniards,—the two chiefs presented themselves before the city gates of Alkmaar; but they and their men were re-

fused admission. Three days later, on July 16th, straggling bodies of Spanish troops—the advance guard of an army that was to appear later—began to reconnoiter the city's environs.

Now was the time to take decisive measures. Nothing was ready for defense, and the city council was irresolute. Many timid people even then began to make preparations to leave the threatened city. But the great majority of the citizens was determined to keep the Spanish despoilers out at any sacrifice.

During this emergency the two Beggar chiefs, Cabeljauw and Ruychaver, were permitted to enter the city, but without their men. The city council had been convened, and hundreds of anxious burghers, many of them favorable to Spain, attended by the two chiefs, made their way toward the city hall. Fear of the Spaniards, coupled with distrust in their own defenses, was so great with the city fathers, they deemed it wise not to attempt any resistance. A portion of the burghers had even manifested their enmity toward the chiefs by shooting at Cabeljauw's commissary, Willem Mostert, and wounding him in the leg.

The council now required the chiefs to obtain reinforcements, and to defeat the Spanish troops before they could approach the city. Cabeljauw was obliged to refuse this unreasonable demand. Their forces were much too small, their equipments too insufficient, to risk a battle. Even if they had been in a condition to offer battle to the Spaniards, the Beggar chiefs wished to be sure that the city was on their side. It would have been too dangerous for them to have had a stronghold in their rear of which they were doubtful whether it would favor their cause or that of the enemy.

But the city council was unable to decide.

Ruychaver became impatient at their irresolution and exclaimed: "This is not the time to deliberate. Say come or go!" Still the council was indecisive.

As often happens in similar instances of vacillation, the firm resolve of a strong and influential man at last turned the scale.

Burgomaster Floris Van Teylingen, disgusted with the half-heartedness of his colleagues, jumped to his feet, and exclaimed: "I live or die for my burghers, and for the prince!" With this he left the council chamber in company of the two Beggar chiefs, and together they went to the Frisian gate, in front of which the Beggar soldiers were still patiently waiting to be admitted. Attended by hundreds of eager burghers, who had been waiting in the city-hall square for the decision of the council, the three soon reached the gate. But they had no keys. The city carpenter, Maarten Pietersz Van der Mey, however, was on the spot with his tools. A few well-directed blows from his axe smashed the lock, and the Beggars entered the city.

The Spanish stragglers of the few days preceding, having been reinforced by other detachments, now formed a small army. About the same time that the Beggars were admitted through the Frisian gate, a body of Spaniards was approaching the city by the road leading to the Heiloer gate. Immediately the Beggar companies, fortified by hundreds of armed burghers, hastened to the threatened point. The enemy, having attained his object and not wishing to engage in battle, retreated, but only to return a few weeks later with many thousands more than the hundreds of now.

Still, the warning had been heeded. The city was immediately put into a proper state of defense, the walls strengthened and some of the suburbs demolished, while the trees around the town were felled. Day after day the

burghers were drilled and instructed in the use of arms, cannons were procured, ammunition was bought, and enough provisions to last through a siege somewhat protracted.

At last the long-expected event took place.

Early in the morning of Friday, August 21st, 1573, while a fearful thunderstorm was rending the clouds, and a drenching rain was beating down, the vanguard of the Spanish army approached Alkmaar from the direction of Haarlem. When the outposts of the Spanish host were approaching the village of Koedyk, the villagers, thinking that a gang of Spanish marauders was about to invade the place, immediately sent to Alkmaar for protection. The noted Beggar chief Dirk Duyvel, at the head of two hundred of his Beggars, hastened to the assistance of the village, and took up a position near the Koedyk sluice. After some obstinate skirmishing, Duyvel at last perceived that he was not fighting a band of marauders, but a well-appointed army corps. A little later a messenger on horseback came to inform him that the enemy was approaching the city from a southerly direction. Not to be cut off, Duyvel was now forced to abandon his position, and to retreat immediately upon the city, accompanied by many country people, who preferred the dangers of a siege to being exposed to the insolence of an alien soldiery.

The situation was critical for the besieged. Only eight hundred soldiers and thirteen hundred burghers capable of bearing arms could be opposed to the sixteen thousand Spanish veterans and their twenty-one pieces of heavy artillery. The city walls were not very strong, and at some points, near the Frisian gate, for instance, only a wide and deep moat separated the burghers from the besieging army.

The defense of the city was entrusted to Cabeljauw, who

was assisted by such able and tried warriors as Willem Van Zonnebergh, Conrad Van Steenwyck, Dirk Duyvel, and Jacob Hennebert. Ruychaver, soon after being admitted into the city, left it again with his company, either to reconnoiter or to occupy an outpost. In the early period of the siege the people of Alkmaar were obliged to abandon a trench, on account of which communication between Ruychaver and the city was cut off, and he was unable to return. He had no opportunity therefore to distinguish himself at the siege, but more than made up for it at the memorable naval battle of the Zuiderzee, a few weeks later.

Notwithstanding the heavy odds against them, the patriotic burghers did not hesitate. Not one among them spoke or even thought of surrender. All were determined to defend their freedom with their lives. And though, during the heavy and almost incessant bombardment, portions of the walls collapsed, there were hundreds of willing hands ready to repair the breaches, heedless of the hail of bullets certain to fall among them.

It was said that, during the siege, some of the officers,—among them the intrepid Duyvel,—despairing of being able to hold the city, proposed to collect what valuables they could carry, and, with the entire population, fight their way through the enemy's ranks, leaving him the deserted city. If this be true, the scheme was as daring as it was hopeless of execution. Though it may have shown lack of judgment on the part of the proposers, it gave evidence of the most reckless courage,—the true spirit of the Sea Beggars, longing for freedom of movement and action.

During the night of September 10th the Spaniards attempted to surprise the town by means of a pontoon bridge; but, circumspect as they were in their movements, they were discovered by the watchful sentinels on the walls.

A still alarm was sounded, and two small cannons were trained upon the bridge and its crew. The bridge was shot to pieces, and a large number of Spaniards paid with their lives for the futile effort at surprise.

But the besieged were not even satisfied with opposing the enemy from behind their walls. The besiegers had occupied positions that exposed a considerable part of the city to an annoying cannonade, and neutralized the garrison of a redoubt, at the entrance to the harbor.

The burghers now resolved to drive the enemy from their favorable position, and at the same time to throw supplies into their harbor-redoubt. They were partly successful in their attempts, but the sinking by the enemy of a vessel near the entrance of the harbor, forced the garrison to evacuate the redoubt.

A final effort to dislodge the besiegers from their favorable position was frustrated by a ruse. While the people of Alkmaar were attacking the Spanish positions from two sides, and had almost succeeded in dislodging the enemy, the besiegers made a feint against one of the city gates. The sound of the alarm called the storming party back to repel what they thought an attack upon the city, and the Spaniards remained in the undisputed possession of their position until the end of the siege. During the entire siege sorties from within the city were continually undertaken, sometimes for the purpose of dislodging the Spaniards from favorable positions; at other times for the sake of taking prisoners, and thus gaining information regarding the enemy's positions and plans.

The Spanish general, Don Frederick De Toledo, was at first possessed of the idea that the city would soon succumb to the persistent cannonading from his twenty-one pieces of heavy artillery, and from an occasional attack. He soon

discovered he was mistaken. Nearly four weeks had passed since he had begun to invest this feeble fortress, and yet no signs of surrender. Summer was nearing its close, and he desired to save his soldiers the rigors of a winter's siege. The only way to gain his end would be to storm the city. The feeble garrison would not be able to resist a hand-to-hand encounter with his veteran soldiery. Haarlem had taught him differently, but Alkmaar, he knew, was not Haarlem!

The 18th of September had been selected by the Spanish commander-in-chief as the day of trial. The evening before, constant alarms and demonstrations had been keeping the defenders in a state of exhaustive tension. The false alarms lasted till midnight, and then happily ceased. It was evident that the enemy had been bent upon exhausting the burghers, and wasting their defensive power by causing them loss of sleep. After their exciting vigils, the burghers had already congratulated one another upon their fortunate escape from a threatened night attack, and had gone to rest, when, suddenly, at three o'clock in the morning of Friday, September 18th, the inhabitants were frightened out of their sleep by a terrible burst of artillery.

Twenty pieces all at once opened fire upon two of the city defenses: the Frisian Gate and the Red Tower. Twenty-five and forty-pound balls fell like hail against the defenses. During all the four weeks of the siege nothing approaching this bombardment had been experienced. The buildings in the town literally shook with the vibrations caused by the din of the artillery. Large breaches were made in the walls and parapets, and the gallant burghers, at the peril of life and limb, filled them up as soon as discovered. Every one, men, women, and even children were active in repairing the defenses. The balls sped thick and fast, but no one

heeded them. The moat near the Frisian Gate had now become filled with débris. The insufficiently-repaired breaches at the Red Tower also seemed to offer an easy path into the city. After more than two thousand cannon balls had been hurled against the town, Don Frederick deemed this sufficient, and about four o'clock in the afternoon he ordered the bombardment to cease.

But the city's greatest ordeal was yet to come. Hardly had the fumes of the cannonading disappeared when the bugles called the Spanish cohorts to the attack against the walls. The two points that had been the butt of the fiercest cannonading, were to be the object of the most furious assault.

With fatal assurance, born of long success and of the consciousness of the city's exhausted garrison and feeble defenses, the Spanish columns marched to the attack. The storm against the Frisian Gate was directed by Julian De Romero, the perfidious murderer of Naarden's hapless burghers. The commander of the defenses at this point was that dauntless Sea Beggar, Dirk Duyvel, whose very name (Devil) was sufficient to fill many a superstitious Spaniard with consternation.

The storming party against the Red Tower was led by De Noircarmes, and the sad fate of Valenciennes was prophetic of what the future of Alkmaar's burghers was to be, should this merciless butcher be victorious. Coenraad Van Steenwyck, who commanded at this point, true to his name, stood firm as a rock against the overwhelming forces of the enemy.

The Spanish attacks were well-nigh irresistible, but the burgher-soldiers gallantly withstood the shocks. Armed with musket and pike, sword, club, and axe, or whatever came handy as a weapon of defense, the burgher forces were more than a match for the disciplined Spanish soldiers.

Neither age nor sex was considered a bar to engaging the enemy.

A number of fires had been built upon the wall, and here old men and women, small boys and young girls, were kept busy for days, collecting combustibles for defense. The larger boys hurled heavy bricks upon the enemy's heads, while the women and girls threw down burning pitch, tar, brimstone, twigs, straw, boiling water, oil, and whatever could be utilized to destroy the enemy. Several times the assailants were beaten back with heavy losses, but only to renew their attacks with greater fury.

Against such a determined resistance it was impossible to gain a footing upon the walls, and the storm was temporarily suspended, but only long enough to afford the besieged a short breathing spell.

The tired and disheartened troops were speedily replaced by fresh ones, and the attack was renewed, this time against four points. It soon became evident that the assaults against the other two points had been only feints, made for the purpose of dividing the forces of the besieged. After slight losses had been experienced by the Spaniards, caused by a few well-directed shots from the city, they quickly withdrew, and the enemy again concentrated their strength against the Frisian Gate and the Red Tower. The second attempt was no more successful than the first, and after several hours of gallant fighting on both sides, the enemy was again obliged to withdraw.

A third attack, by fresh troops, was soon made, and this time it appeared as if the almost exhausted defenders would be forced to succumb. At the Frisian Gate the Spaniards succeeded in planting three ensigns upon the city-side of the moat, and immediately a large number of Spanish soldiers, rallied by the cry of "Victory, the city is ours!" as-

sembled around the flags, ready to follow up their advantage. The defenders, too, rallied at the danger, and, gathering new strength out of despair, made a last irresistible rush, hurled the Spaniards down into the moat or killed them on the spot, tore down or burnt the Spanish ensigns, and no more Spanish soldiers succeeded in gaining an entrance there.

The besiegers were no more fortunate when attacking the Red Tower; although here also they had temporarily succeeded in planting a banner on the wall. For the third time the Spanish general was obliged to recall his defeated battalions, who had suffered a loss of more than five hundred killed. For the time being the city was safe. For nearly two days the inhabitants were permitted to take a well-earned rest, and prepare for a fourth attack.

On the 20th of September, at nine o'clock in the morning, the enemy again opened fire against the town, from all of their twenty pieces of artillery. More than seven hundred cannon balls were hurled against the walls; but again the defenders filled the breaks almost as soon as made. Early in the afternoon the firing stopped, but only to be followed by renewed attacks, for which purpose the Spanish soldiers had been ranged in imposing battle-array.

The besieged not only made their preparations to receive them fittingly in full view of the enemy, but even filled their goblets with beer and emptied them upon the city wall, loudly inviting the Spaniards to come and drink with them!

Instead of accepting the invitations, the Spanish soldiers not only kept at a respectful distance, but refused to proceed against the city. Nothing—not even the killing of several of their number by their own officers—was able to induce them to face the destruction that was certain to overtake them in storming the city. The baffled commander-in-chief

was forced to countermand his orders for a storm, and resolved to starve the town into surrender, as he had recently succeeded in doing with Haarlem. But the authorities of Alkmaar, having foreseen this emergency, had devised measures to prevent it.

At ten o'clock at night of the second day of September, when the sky was murky and the surrounding country hidden from view by the dense darkness, one of the city gates had been noisily opened, and a number of the besieged had sallied out, ostensibly for the purpose of making a sortie. After exchanging a few shots with the surprised Spaniards, confusion appeared to invade the ranks of the burghers, and they precipitately retired into the city. But the sortie had been only a ruse, undertaken to cover the exit from the town of the city carpenter, Maarten Pietersz Van der Mey, who had volunteered to find a way through the camps of the besiegers, with messages for Sonoy, the prince's stadholder of West Friesland. In a hollow of the long pole he bore—used by his countrymen for the purpose of jumping across ditches and pools—letters had been deposited, in which the magistrates of Alkmaar besought Sonoy to cut the dykes, and utilize the water of the sea in delivering them from the enemy.

After evading a thousand dangers, the daring messenger escaped through the Spanish lines, and in a few days reached Schagen, which Sonoy had temporarily made the seat of his government. Van der Mey, after having been ushered into the stadholder's presence, unscrewed the knob of his pole and handed Sonoy his message, adding such verbal appeals as could be made only by a man just escaped from the closely-invested town.

But Sonoy, to his great sorrow, was compelled to tell the heroic messenger that he was powerless to act in the matter;

he had requested the authorities of the interested polders to permit him to cut the dykes, but all had refused.

The only body now to approach in the matter were the States of West Friesland, who, at the time, were in session at Hoorn. Sonoy advised the messenger to address himself to them, and to request their assistance. The messenger had little hope they would listen to him, a simple carpenter, but he resolved to try it. Arriving at Hoorn, he was admitted into the presence of the States, and, as eloquently as he knew how, he pleaded the cause of the beleaguered city. In vain. The only answer was, that Alkmaar, as yet, had been invested only three weeks, and that it ought to hold out at least as long as Haarlem; less than two months later, on All Saints' day, when the crops had been gathered, and the cattle were in the stables, it would be time enough to have recourse to the waters of the sea.

Van der Mey's indignation knew no bounds; in his wrath he delivered himself so energetically that the States, in their turn, were deeply offended, and threatened his arrest. It was only because of the effective interposition of one of the members—Frederick Ottens—that the bold carpenter escaped imprisonment. The same member induced the States to advise the messenger to go to Delft, where the prince was then residing, and try to secure support from that quarter. The trip from Hoorn to Delft, in those days, was long and tedious. But the man that had braved so many dangers for the sake of his city's relief, was prepared to go even farther to gain his end.

As soon as he arrived at Delft, the carpenter was admitted into the presence of the prince, who had followed with the greatest anxiety the course of events in North Holland. The prince was extremely indignant at the egotistical conduct of the States of West Friesland, and entrusted Van

der Mey with letters to Sonoy and to the magistrates of Alkmaar.

In the letter to Sonoy, the prince commanded his stadholder of West Friesland to cut the dykes, open the sluices, and drown the Spaniards, no matter how much the States were opposed to it. To the magistrates of Alkmaar the prince conveyed his gratitude for the city's brave defense, and promised it speedy relief.

Arrived at Schagen, Van der Mey handed the prince's letter to Sonoy, who hesitated no longer, but immediately gave orders to inundate the country, as far as necessary, and, at the same time, to use the military to guard the opened sluices and the gaps in the dykes. He also gave the messenger letters to the city's magistrates, informing them of the speedy relief that the sea was to bring to the beleaguered town. Van der Mey put his letters into a bladder, and, covered by the darkness of the night, again attempted to steal through the enemy's lines. Jumping across ditches, wading through pools, slowly advancing in one place, hastily retreating in another, the heroic carpenter at last reached the city gate, but only after his letters had been lost in a pool, in the mire of which he himself had almost lost his life.

During the night of September 28th, after an absence of more than three weeks, the self-sacrificing messenger entered the town, whose residents, even before his arrival, had already perceived that his errand had not been in vain. For the last two or three days an unusual activity had reigned in the Spanish camp, consisting in the shifting of tents and batteries, moving wagons, and even abandoning advantageous positions near the city. The slowly-rising waters were beginning to force the enemy back; the ally of the Dutch had at last come to the city's assistance.

On the morning following Van der Mey's safe return, the bladder, containing his lost letters, was found by a Spanish soldier. It was taken to headquarters, where its contents were examined. The consequence was, Don Frederick ordered the siege to be abandoned. Slowly and almost reluctantly the orders were carried out. Several days passed before the enemy entirely withdrew. It almost seemed as if they mistrusted the first signs of the inundation, as well as the contents of the letters, and were waiting for more positive evidence. This appeared in the shape of a slowly-but-ever-increasing volume of water. Had the dykes and sluices been nearer, the Spanish commander could have despatched a division to fill the gaps, close the sluice-doors, and prevent their being again tampered with. But under the circumstances this was impossible. His only safety now lay in precipitate retreat.

In the morning of October 8th, 1573, when the watchful sentinels on the walls were scanning the fields around the town, they perceived an endless sheet of water, but no enemy. He had utilized the darkness of the night to quit forever these plains, where nothing but dishonor and destruction to himself had attended his arms, and where the waves of the distant sea, even now, were preparing graves for the disheartened soldiers. Alkmaar was relieved.

Throughout the length and breadth of the land the joyful shout now rung:

"Alkmaar has been saved!"

After Den Briel, it was the first city that had successfully withstood the might of Spanish arms. Large numbers of the same freebooters, who had assisted in capturing and preserving Den Briel for the cause of liberty, had rendered additional service to their country's freedom, by assisting also at the victorious defense of Alkmaar.

From this time, the war more generally favored the Dutch, and the relief of Alkmaar may be considered as the turning point in the struggle. The patriotic cause in Northern Netherland was almost invariably victorious, so that it could be truly said:

"VICTORY BEGINS FROM ALKMAAR."

Chapter Seven.

The Battle of the Zuyderzee.

EVEN before the siege of Alkmaar, the Spanish authorities in North Holland had been contemplating the equipment of a fleet that was to coöperate with the army in subjugating that section of the province North of the Y that had thrown off the yoke of Spain. Considerations of policy not only required this measure, but it was also a life-and-death question for Amsterdam, as long as this northern metropolis continued under Spanish authority. The Sea Beggars were bolder and more successful than ever in their raids upon the commerce of Amsterdam, and always found a safe refuge for themselves, as well as a ready market for their spoils, in the liberated cities on the northwest coast of the Zuyderzee. Necessity had forced several Amsterdam merchants to remove their business to Enkhuizen, Hoorn, and others of Amsterdam's formerly-insignificant rivals. These removals not only weakened Amsterdam, but, what was still worse, greatly increased the resources, as well as the prestige, of Spain's enemies in Northern Netherland.

The Duke of Alba, too late for his cause, had at last perceived that the real strength of the revolt centered in the sea. He therefore resolved to break it down with one fell swoop, from land and sea.

His army had been victorious at Haarlem, and would, no doubt, be victorious also at Alkmaar and everywhere else. His naval armaments in the south had so far been successful that they had more than once managed to throw men, ammunition, and provisions into besieged Middelburg. The Zeeland Beggars, at the same time, principally owing to the prominent part they took in the siege, and the continual presence of the Spanish galleons, were prevented from causing as much damage to Antwerp's commerce and shipping as they could have done.

Amsterdam, then, was to be saved from the Sea Beggars; but at its own expense. The fleet that the city was called upon to equip, was intended to destroy the naval forces of the Beggars on the Zuyderzee, and, with them, the immediate danger of Spain's seeing Amsterdam wrested from its grasp. Bossu, the Spanish stadholder of Holland, had been commanded by Alba to fit out as strong a fleet as he could collect. This fleet, when ready, was to be reinforced by a squadron, equipped at Friesland's expense, by the Frisian stadholder, De Robles.

De Robles had succeeded in collecting a force of eleven ships, among them three large galleons. With this squadron he intercepted and captured, near the Vlie, a merchant fleet of seven vessels, loaded with three hundred lasts of grain from the Baltic, and destined for Hoorn. The only ship to escape was the convoy. Still, Robles did not succeed in joining Bossu and the Amsterdam fleet. The Frisian Beggar admiral, Duco Martena, kept him so well employed that it was impossible for Robles to obey Alba's orders and reinforce Bossu's armada. For this reason, Martena and his gallant Frisians undoubtedly had as great a share in the subsequent victory as if they had taken an active part in the battle.

After several months of secret preparation, the Amsterdam squadron, consisting of thirty ships, manned by three thousand soldiers and sailors, was ready to sail. And although the Spanish preparations had been secret, the patriotic North Hollanders had been kept fully informed of them by their sympathizers at Amsterdam, and therefore had prepared to meet the approaching storm.

As soon as they had been apprised of Bossu's intention to leave for the Zuyderzee, the Sea Beggars sank a few old hulks near Amsterdam, in the hope of preventing the progress of the Spanish Fleet. On September 12th, 1573, the Spanish admiral made the attempt to leave the harbor, but a strong wind that was blowing, and the sunken wrecks in the ship channel, forced him to return. Upon the following day the wind had abated, and the attempt to pass the wrecks was renewed. The effort, then, was successful, and Bossu reached the Y with eighteen of his ships.

The twenty-four small Beggar ships had not more than a thousand men on board. They were deficient in every war equipment; their artillery was so feeble that Bossu mockingly alluded to it as "wooden cannon." They did not even have ammunition enough for a two hours' battle. What they lacked in equipment, however, was more than counterbalanced by their superiority in seamanship and their thorough familiarity with the battle-ground. On these facts their hopes were centered, and from them they derived the courage to engage in the unequal contest.

The Beggars that had penetrated into the Y had been closely observing the movements of the Spaniards. As soon as the Beggar admiral, Cornelis Dircks, Burgomaster of Monnickendam, had seen the Spaniards clearing the obstructions in the channel, he convened his War Council. The question then arose whether it would be advisable to fight in

the Y, or to attack them in the Zuyderzee? The captains were almost unanimously in favor of waiting for reinforcements and supplies, then to attack the Spaniards on the Zuyderzee. The Beggar ships thereupon retired, and cast anchor under the lee of Marcken.

Bossu thought that the sight of his huge ships had filled his adversaries with fear, and that this was the reason they had sought safety in sudden flight. Subsequent events conspired to show him he had misjudged his foe!

After messengers had been despatched to Hoorn and Enkhuizen, informing those cities of the formidable appearance of the Spanish Fleet, the authorities immediately resolved to do all in their power to strengthen the sea-forces. It is true a Spanish army was before Alkmaar, only a few miles distant from their own gates, but the danger threatening from the sea was even more imminent. They sent as much ammunition as they thought they could spare from their own scanty stores, while large numbers of eager volunteers, especially from among the fishermen, joined the ships. Hoorn even lent the portion of its garrison which consisted of a company of veteran Sea Beggars under command of the former Beggar captain Ruychaver. They were assigned to do duty on board of Admiral Dircks' flagship.

At the same time, they also sent to the prince for assistance in ships, but especially in ammunition and artillery. Considering the condition of the country, it is very doubtful whether the prince was able to supply them with either.

As soon as the Beggar Fleet had left for the Zuyderzee, Bossu's first plan was to subdue the defenses that the patriots had thrown up on the north bank of the Y, opposite Amsterdam, constituting as they did a perpetual menace to the city's interests. Their precipitate retreat, however, after Bossu's success in overcoming the obstacles in his

path had prevented the Beggars from informing the commanders of the various redoubts, of the condition of affairs.

The important redoubt at Schellingwoude, under command of Captain Hendrik Van Broekhuizen, was the first to experience the attack of the Spanish force. After a brief but spirited defense, the feeble garrison was obliged to abandon the trench, and retire upon the city of Monnickendam. The other redoubts along the Waterland dyke also succumbed. Thus the enemy not only obtained a firm foothold upon the north bank of the Y, but, what was worse under the circumstances, got possession of a number of cannon and a large quantity of ammunition that had been destined for the Beggar Fleet. The inhabitants of the village of Schellingwoude, however, were the greatest immediate sufferers by the retreat, as the unexpectedness of the attack had prevented them from conveying themselves and their movables to a place of safety. The Spanish occupation of the redoubt and village was directly followed by a general looting of the place, during which most of that which was of no immediate value to the soldiers was wantonly destroyed.

Soon after the occupation of the fortifications Bossu sent Francisco Verdugo to Alba at Amsterdam, in order to acquaint the Spanish governor-general with the initial successes. But before the emissary could return, the wind rose to a storm, and Bossu was a second time prevented from proceeding to the Zuiderzee. The storm soon became so violent, that the Spanish squadron was forced to return to Amsterdam.

Here they stayed two weeks longer, to repair damages and to take in fresh supplies, as well as to enable the remainder of the fleet to join the expedition. On October 3rd the entire Spanish squadron—thirty sails strong—again attempted to reach the Zuyderzee, but not until the 5th of the same

month did the wind permit them to leave the Pampus, the ship channel connecting the Y with the Zuyderzee.

The occupation by Bossu of the redoubts on the Waterland dyke, served only to strengthen the determination of the Beggars to beat his forces on the water. Bossu's action at Schellingwoude was but a presage of what was to follow, should he succeed in defeating the Beggar Fleet, now awaiting his arrival on the Zuyderzee. The time between Bossu's first futile attempt and his final success in gaining the Zuyderzee, had been well spent by the patriots, who were now full of courage, when, in the afternoon of October 5th, Bossu was coming to meet his adversaries. Their fleet, though far from being equal to that of the Spaniards, both in men and armament, was much better equipped than three weeks before.

Bossu's flagship, the Inquisition, with three hundred and eighty men, and armed with thirty-two metal pieces, led the way. From all appearances, it seemed foolish for the Beggars even to attempt to oppose so strong and well-equipped a force. Compared to the majority of Bossu's ships, the vessels of the Sea Beggars were mere sloops, while their artillery fared even worse by the comparison.

But they hesitated not, and, without waiting for their precious powder, the patriots more than half-way met the enemy of their freedom. It was their intention, first, to render those floating fortresses helpless, by maneuvering them into shallow water, then to board them. The attempt was desperate, but it seemed the only means by which to gain a decisive victory.

Bossu, however, intended to keep the Beggar ships at a distance, and to sink them with his heavy artillery. His thirty-two pieces, and the numerous cannon of the other Spanish ships, opened a terrific fire upon the approaching

assailants, without, however, intimidating them or even causing much damage. Feebly replying to the Spanish fire, the Beggar ships moved steadily on, continually forcing Bossu to shift his position to prevent any opportunity for boarding. For two days the battle lasted in this seemingly-desultory manner, neither one of the combatants gaining any real advantage.

Yet, while the battle was fiercest, the Beggars had the good fortune to separate two Spanish vessels from the main body of the fleet. One of these ships, the Ape, was boarded by Captain Jacob Van Til. His efforts to board had been twice ineffective. Now, a third time, he was successful, and a fearful struggle on deck of the boarded Spaniard, at last ended in Van Til's victory. Out of sixty Spaniards, only seven, including their commander, survived. They were immediately sent as captives to Hoorn. But fortune now left the dauntless Dutchman. Two of Van Til's men were killed, and he himself and twenty more of his men were wounded. This weakened his crew to such an extent that he could not properly man his prize. Orders were immediately given to remove her artillery and ammunition to his own vessel, after which a small prize-crew would be put upon the conquered Spaniard. But scarcely had the cannon been removed, when another Spanish ship bore down upon Van Til's, and, a brief engagement following, he was forced to abandon his empty prize to the enemy.

Captain Dames Fredericks Geltzak, of Medenblick, fared even worse. He also had been successful in almost conquering a Spaniard, but, when victory was near, Bossu himself trained the artillery of his Inquisition on the Beggar ship, which was just within the range of the Spanish admiral's guns. They did terrible execution. Fifty of Fredericks' crew were wounded or killed. This disaster to

their plucky antagonist was promptly utilized by the Spaniards to throw off the grappling irons and seek safety in a precipitate retreat.

The number of killed and wounded on the Beggar Fleet after two days' fighting, was considerable, even the admiral himself having been temporarily disabled. Yet, despite all this loss, they had not been able, up to that time, to gain any real advantage.

Slowly the wind veered toward the southeast, and now the Beggars deemed it wise to suspend operations until the wind should again change in their favor. With the wind in favor of the enemy, the chances were too unequal for the Beggar forces, and their admiral, therefore, gave the signal to retreat. Sailing north, they dropped anchor near Neck, not far from Hoorn, whither Bossu could not follow them, owing to the size of his ships.

Bossu, thinking he had defeated the Beggar Fleet, laughed derisively when his rear-admiral, Rol, the fugitive burgomaster of Hoorn, ventured to inform the admiral that, in his opinion, the battle had not even begun, and that it was a much easier matter to despise than to beat his enemy. He knew his countrymen.

For five long days the impatient Beggars were prevented by adverse winds from again closing in upon their enemy. For five short days the Spaniards were rejoicing over a victory they had not won.

During the days of their enforced inactivity, the Beggars were informed of the fortunate relief of Alkmaar. This success on land secured them further assistance, while, if possible, at the same time it increased their resolve to follow up the relief of Alkmaar with a decisive victory at sea.

At last, on October 11th, 1573, the wind began to blow from a more favorable quarter. Now the enthusiasm of the

crews became so irresistible that Admiral Dircks did not even venture to wait till he should have received a much-needed addition to his ammunition; longer delay, in fact, would have caused mutiny among his men.

Bossu was at dinner when he received the incredible news that the Beggars, whom he thought he had defeated, were bearing down upon him at their utmost speed, all sails unfurled.

The Spaniard soon made the unwelcome discovery that his enemies had the advantage of the wind. At the same time, the nearness of the coast, and the shallowness of the water, prevented him from properly maneuvering his ships, or even falling back when necessary.

Again Bossu tried to decide the issue through the superiority of his artillery. The roar of his hundreds of heavy cannons soon reverberated across the waters, reaching the near-by shore,—North Holland,—where it called to the dykes thousands of anxious burghers, whose silent prayers ascended to heaven for the success of the gallant champions battling for progress and liberty against such fearful odds.

But the cannonade, however terrible, caused little damage to the Beggar Fleet. Not a single ship was disabled, not a single crew suffered severe losses. Here and there stray balls or shells caused some damage to the on-speeding fleet, but not enough to prevent either ship or crew from taking part in the fray. All through this heavy cannonade the Beggars reserved their fire, partly because they had little ammunition, partly because their artillery did not carry far enough, and was not powerful enough even to cause much damage to the floating Spanish fortresses. The Beggars trusted principally to other devices.

Their first object was to board their antagonist. In the hand-to-hand struggle that was to ensue, the Beggars in-

tended to make use not only of knife and axe, of sword and crowbar, but a number of their crews, before jumping over, were to be stationed in the rigging of their ships, and were to demoralise the Spaniards by throwing fire-pots, burning pitch, tar, and other scalding material, upon the decks of the enemy's vessels. They intended to do at sea what the people of Alkmaar had done so successfully on land.

Soon all the ships were engaged. But there was neither unity of action nor systematic coöperation among the Beggars. Every ship sought for what she considered her match. Admiral Dircks had selected for his share Bossu's flagship, the powerful Inquisition, apparently a most foolhardy undertaking, but rendered less hazardous, however, by the presence on board of his ship of Ruychaver and his veterans.

It was not long before the daring of the Beggars was rewarded by the conquest of one of the Spaniards. This was a ship of two hundred and forty tons burden, carrying four brass and four iron pieces, and several of smaller caliber. After a most severe cannonade, she tried to escape, but Dutch seamanship was superior to Spanish seamanship. Their few pieces of artillery also had been so well-served, that in the course of the fight the enemy's ship was bored full of holes and upon the point of sinking. After a sanguinary hand-to-hand battle, the survivors on the Spanish vessel were forced to surrender. The conquerors had scarcely time to save the heavy artillery and some of the valuable ammunition, before their prize suddenly lurched and disappeared beneath the waves.

Five more Spanish ships, endeavoring to evade the onslaught of the Dutchmen, grounded and were unable to get afloat. Soon the light Beggar ships were upon them.

After a stubborn fight, the Dutchmen threatened to set the Spanish ships afire if they did not speedily surrender, and, suiting the action to the threat, the Beggars cast coals of fire, burning pitch, and other combustibles upon the deck and in the rigging of the enemy's ships. Seeing neither chance of escape nor hope of assistance from the other ships of their fleet, the gallant remnants of the decimated Spanish crews were reluctantly obliged to surrender, to escape death by fire or by drowning.

When the remainder of the Spanish fleet perceived the loss almost at one stroke of five of their best ships, with another gone to the bottom, they lost heart, and, despairing of being able to assist their admiral in his struggle, they withdrew to a distance.

Had the Beggars then made a general and concerted attack, the destruction or capture of the entire Spanish Fleet would have been but a question of a few hours. But, unfortunately, several of them could not resist the temptation to loot the foundered ships, which afforded the other Spanish vessels an opportunity to get out of danger's reach. Several of the fugitives, to escape the fate of their companions, and get safely across the shallows, lightened their vessels by throwing overboard all of their heavy pieces. The Spanish rout was complete, their ships, under the lead of Vice-Admiral Rol, seeking safety beyond the Pampus ship channel. There they cast anchor for the night.

The Zuyderzee was now clear of Spanish vessels, and Bossu alone, their admiral, was still fighting, merely because he could not disengage himself from his assailants. The Council of War of the fugitive Spanish Fleet had, the same evening, resolved to go to their admiral's assistance early the next morning. But the Spanish soldiers on Rol's ship forced him to turn into the Y, and thus, instead of hasten-

ing to Bossu's relief, they returned to Amsterdam as fugitives from an enemy inferior in every respect except in courage and resources.

As soon as Bossu had been informed that Dircks was approaching, he hurriedly left the table, and, after buckling on his armor, took up a position near the mainmast of his Inquisition. His thirty-two pieces scattered death and destruction among the fleet of his assailants, without, however, arresting their onward course. The Beggar admiral had ordered his helmsman to steer straight for the Inquisition. At first he obeyed. But whether the fearful roar of the cannon or the immense size of the towering Spaniard filled him with dismay, was not known, but he suddenly altered his course. Hardly had one of the sailors, Jan Floriszoon, perceived this, than he jumped toward the rudder, pushed the helmsman aside, and steered the ship in the direction of the Spaniard. One of the first Spanish balls that struck the Dutchman, soon killed the disgraced helmsman.

Before long, Dircks' ship was alongside of Bossu's, whose heavy artillery could no longer cause much damage to the intrepid Beggar. Three more Beggar ships joined their admiral, but the crews of all four were not as numerous as that of the Inquisition alone. One of the Beggar ships, moreover, under command of Captain De Boer, had been trying to attach herself to Bossu's stern, but, owing to the height of the Inquisition, could get no hold upon her. After having been raked by the fire from the Spanish small arms, De Boer was obliged to give up his attempt at grappling. He next tried to disable the Inquisition's helm, and thus render her ungovernable. But this also proved impossible, owing to the strength of the rudder and the pans of fire thrown from the Inquisition's high poop upon De

Boer's low-rigged ship. The disappointed Beggar captain, therefore, was obliged to look elsewhere for more accessible enemies to conquer.

This left but three of Bossu's assailants. One of their first acts had been to cut the Inquisition's anchor, in hopes that the ship would touch the shallows, and thus become an easy prey. But, instead of foundering, the Spanish admiral drifted hither and thither with wind and tide, his three assailants hanging on to his prow and sides like so many unshakable bull-dogs. Fearfully the battle raged, and although on both sides men were mown down like ripe grain, no one thought of giving up. It was a battle to the death. Even quicklime and burning pitch, thrown from the rigging of the Beggar ships down upon the Spaniards, failed to make them wince. Soon the decks of the four ships were strewn with dead and wounded, and slippery with blood, yet none of the contestants was willing to end the carnage.

While thus engaged in deadly and hopeless contest, Bossu discerned how first one, then five, of his best ships were either sunken or taken. He also saw the rest of his fleet precipitately withdraw and make for the Pampus, but the gallant commander, as well as his equally-gallant crew, never thought of surrender; they had quietly resolved to conquer or die.

Past Hoorn they drifted with the outflowing tide, and after the darkness of night had set in, the glare of the wreaths of burning pitch on the decks and in the rigging of the Beggar ships, furnished the light by which to continue the battle. This also served as the beacon for the coast-dwellers, guiding them to the combatants. Light vessels named "watherships," from Hoorn, not only carried the dead and wounded Sea Beggars to the shore, but continually filled the gaps in their ranks with fresh men, so that the exhausted

Spaniards were ever-facing new assailants. Yet Bossu's men wavered not; not even after three hundred and more of their number had been either killed or wounded, and the small remnant were forced to seek shelter within the hold.

Whatever the ingenuity of the Beggars and their allies on the shore could invent to reduce the Spaniards to surrender, was applied. The lighters even took with them from the city boiling lime-water, which was thrown upon the Spaniards from the yard-arms of the Beggar ships. Ruychaver and his men on Dircks' ship endeavored more than once to gain a foothold upon the Spaniard, but every time they were driven off with fearful loss. The deck of the Inquisition was red with the life-blood of friend and foe, the groans and curses of the wounded mingled with the noise of the battle and the shouts of the combatants, but no one among the fighters paid any attention to the fate of the fallen, and the end seemed as far off as ever.

At last, Bossu was forced to order his remnant of men to open the hatches and fight the enemy from the partial cover of the hold. The only one among the Spaniards occasionally to appear on the deck was Bossu himself, whose heavy armor protected him against every thrust, every bullet, and whose long sword, wielded by a powerful arm, kept his assailants at a respectful distance. But even then it was not safe for the Beggars to venture upon the enemy's deck, for the well-directed musket fire, and the long Spanish pikes, did deadlier execution than when the soldiers were fighting in the open. Yet the Beggars resolved to take the ship, cost what it might. Morning began to dawn, but still there appeared no sign that the besieged intended to surrender.

At the coming of twilight, Jan Haring, of Hoorn, one of the heroes of the ill-fated siege of Haarlem, suddenly espied the Spanish ensign proudly flying from the Inquisition's main

mast. Its bringing down could not serve a single purpose, as the rest of the Spanish Fleet had long before fled, and those on board would fight to the bitter end, flag or no flag. Still it would be a satisfaction to himself and his fellow countrymen on the ships to see this hated emblem of alien domination lowered from its lofty place. Quick as lightning the intrepid Beggar ascended the rigging of the Spanish admiral's mast, never heeding the bullets speeding up around him. Tearing the flag from its fastenings, he slung it round his body, and, shouting "Victory!" made ready to descend.

This disgrace, however, was too great for Spanish pride to bear. Disengaging attention, for the moment, from the assailants on the deck, every available musket was aimed at the daring climber. A dozen or more bullets at once were liberated against him from the muzzles of the Spanish firearms. Long before he reached the deck, a bullet pierced his lungs, and, after shouting once more, "Victory!" the hero,—Jan Haring, of Hoorn—dropped dead upon the Spanish deck, the lowered banner of proud Spain a blood-stained pall, covering his lifeless remains.

At last, even Bossu and most of the officers that had been left, grew tired of the useless carnage; twenty-eight hours the fearful battle had raged; hundreds of men on both sides had succumbed; only fifteen of Bossu's gallant crew were yet in fit condition to offer any resistance.

Putting up his sword, Admiral Bossu requested a conference with Admiral Dircks, Captain Ruychaver, and Prevost Nieuwvink. His request was granted. The outcome of the negotiations was, that he surrendered, upon condition that the lives of his men should be spared, that he himself, during his captivity, should be treated with all the consideration due to a count, and that the prisoners should be exchanged. The conditions were accepted, and immediately ratified by

Sonoy, who had but just arrived with reinforcements. Two Spanish officers, Corcuera and Lopez, distrusting the good faith of the conquerors, counseled fighting to the death. But they also, after Sonoy's solemn promise to respect the terms of surrender, consented to lay down their arms. The first signal naval victory by the Dutch over the Spaniards had now been won. Spanish paramountcy on the Zuyderzee was for ever at an end. The Spanish defeat saved not only the part of Holland North of the Y from the danger of Spanish invasion, but also was the principal cause of Amsterdam declaring in favor of the patriots, five years later.

Bossu for three years remained a prisoner of war at Hoorn, where he was confined in the orphanage; he was treated much better than he deserved, in view of his dastardly and treacherous massacre of the people of Rotterdam in April, 1572. Because of this perfidy, the mob at Hoorn clamored for his life as he was being conducted a prisoner of war into the city. In 1576 Bossu left the cause of Spain, and was appointed Governor of Utrecht by the prince, in which capacity he died three years later, trusted by few, detested by many.

Chapter Eight.

The Capture of Middelburg.

A. The Siege.

HARDLY had Treslong arrived at Flushing when he began to devise means to force Middelburg, Zeeland's capital, to take sides with the prince. It was known that the majority of the city's inhabitants were favorable to the cause of their country's freedom. But the magistrates, and most of the prominent families, considering chiefly their own interests, were inclined to Spain. A very strong Spanish garrison, moreover, guarded Middelburg against attack from without, and prevented any patriotic demonstration from within. The original garrison had been augmented by adding the Spanish soldiers destined for, and stationed at, Flushing, but who, on April 6th and following days, had been repulsed and driven out.

But the impetuous Treslong decided to attack, under any conditions, this central Spanish stronghold. Gathering together his Sea Beggars, and as many soldiers and burghers of Flushing as were willing to join him, during the night of April 26th, 1572, he secretly led his allied forces against Middelburg, in the hope of surprising it by burning one of the city gates. He was repulsed with great loss, and suc-

ceeded in holding only Arnemuiden, Middelburg's outer harbor. This, also, the Beggars were soon obliged to evacuate.

But Middelburg was too important a town to be easily abandoned to the Spanish enemy. As long as the Spaniards held Middelburg not only was the security of the entire Island of Walcheren threatened, but the subjugation of nearly the whole of the province of Zeeland was sure to follow. The leaders at Flushing and at Veer consequently decided to besiege Zeeland's capital city, and thus force it to surrender. But the earliest efforts in this direction met with no better success than the attempted surprises preceding.

After the siege had been decided upon, the land forces, consisting of burghers and soldiers of Flushing and Veer, encompassed the city on land, the Beggar ships guarding the entrance from the side of the sea. Lack of experience and other drawbacks caused the envelopment, at first, to be very imperfect. A Spanish regiment, 1250 strong, under Sanchio D'Avila, despatched on May 6th from Bergen op Zoom to reinforce the Middelburg garrison, easily succeeded in evading the besiegers. On the 7th they arrived at the Haeck, in plain view of the Beggar ships, and on the 8th, at the dawn of day, presented themselves at the gates of Middelburg. Their success, in thus eluding the besiegers, encouraged them to such an extent, that the commander of the garrison, De Beauvoir, resolved to follow up his advantage by ordering a general assault. So irresistible was the Spanish attack, that the besiegers were not only dispersed, but lost most of their artillery, and five standards. In their precipitate flight, many were drowned, and the Spaniards not only retook Arnemuiden and the castle of Zeeburg, but attacked Veer. Here, however, De Ryck and

his "Bloody Company" resisted them so well that the Spaniards were forced to flee for their lives, after the loss of all their ships and several hundreds of men.

But if the Spaniards had thus been successful in their first attempt at reinforcing the ranks of Middelburg's defenders, a second effort ended very disastrously for them. On May 15th a number of Spanish vessels started from Goes, laden with soldiers and supplies. The Sea Beggars had now taken up a more favorable position in the channel of Veer, and, when the Spanish ships attempted to pass them, they were fiercely attacked, and were obliged to return to Goes after sustaining heavy losses.

The people of the two allied cities next endeavored to take Middelburg by storm. They were repulsed, with heavy losses. They were neither numerous nor experienced, nor had they the necessary equipments, to reduce to submission such a strongly garrisoned city as Middelburg. It was even extremely difficult for them to keep up a regular and effective siege. Still, it was most imperative for the success of the patriots' cause that Middelburg should be won.

To guard against sudden attacks by the garrison of Middelburg upon Flushing, some important dykes were now cut, and sluices built in the gaps, so that a large part of territory between Flushing and Middelburg could, in case of need, be inundated by opening the sluice-doors. Some intrenchments were also thrown up, and here a number of the burghers of Veer and Flushing were stationed, to prevent, as much as possible, any intercourse with the surrounding country. A cordon of Beggar ships was also placed around the entire Island of Walcheren. Ships were stationed in all of the most important channels, creeks, and inlets of the sea, and the besiegers prepared to starve the city into submission. Within a few weeks more than eighty

Beggar ships of all sizes and shapes hovered in and around Walcheren's waters. It became even difficult for the royal squadrons, sailing from Bergen op Zoom, Antwerp, and Sluis to unite and act in concert. If united, the royal ships might be able to undertake something against the Beggar Fleet; separated, they were almost certain to meet with disaster, as had happened more than once before.

The Spaniards, however, were not disposed to be thus easily deprived of their principal Zeeland stronghold. To increase the Spanish forces in the Zeeland waters, royal vessels were withdrawn from wherever they could be spared. From Holland and Flanders, as well as from Spain itself, they were hastily sent to reinforce the royal navy in the estuaries of the Scheldt. The Spanish authorities thoroughly appreciated the importance of Zeeland, both to themselves and to the partisans of freedom. They also knew that, once lost, it would be exceedingly difficult again to subjugate those sea-girt islands, with their resolute, liberty-loving inhabitants.

Numerous individual encounters now took place between the Spanish ships and those of the Sea Beggars, in which the latter were usually victorious. During one of these encounters, Sebastian De Lange, Veer's admiral, sorely pressed by four large Spanish warships, set fire to the powder, blowing up his own ship and destroying those of the enemy.

Still, on June 11th, the Spaniards were so fortunate as to throw into the besieged town abundant provisions and an additional force of 1100 men,—a portion of the reinforcements that had just arrived from Spain with the hapless Medina Celi.

Remembering their partial success of a few weeks preceding, the Spanish authorities in Middelburg now intended to surprise Flushing. They hoped thus to be able to bring

about the breaking up of the siege, and, at the same time, to force the Sea Beggars to raise the blockade of the island, or at least to withdraw their ships from before Middelburg. With Flushing lost to the patriot cause, it would be impossible, at that time, to continue the investment of Middelburg.

During the night of June 22d a very strong Spanish force noiselessly left the besieged town, and took the road leading to Flushing. Midway between the two cities stood the castle of West Souburg, fortunately guarded by a small garrison of Flushing. After a fierce assault, the castle was taken by the Spaniards, and the garrison sought safety in flight to Flushing, thus warning the people of their danger. The burghers of Flushing, to check the enemy's advance, speedily opened a newly-constructed sluice in one of the dykes, and the Spaniards were soon in full retreat before the inrushing waters. Out of revenge for having been thus deprived of what they deemed a certain conquest, the Spaniards, during their retreat, wantonly reduced to ashes the villages of Koudekerke and West Kapelle. As part-compensation for this damage, several ships, manned principally by impressed seamen, sent by the enemy to attack the patriot force, deserted and joined the fleet of the Beggars.

While the blockading ships were not engaged in repulsing the enemy's vessels, the Beggar captains, in order to break the monotony of the watch, as well as to procure much-needed supplies for their crews, frequently left their ships, and, after the example of the Frisian Sea Beggars, undertook "shore walks." The famous Barthold Entens Van Mentheda, who had joined the Zeeland Beggars in their blockade of the Island of Walcheren, endeavored, on August 28th, 1572, to surprise Arnemuiden, and thus cut off Middelburg's communication with the sea. Repulsed by the garrison, he now descended upon the environs. He subjected the surround-

ing country to the payment of contributions, and plundered and destroyed the castle of Westhoven, the property of one of Spain's most ardent partisans within the besieged town.

As was customary in those days, the country people suffered not only from the patriots but from the Spanish soldiers, who were even more rapacious than the Sea Beggars. Even the farmers that had the good fortune to slip unobserved through the insufficiently-guarded lines of the besiegers with provisions for the town, were robbed by the very men they came to relieve. This shameful practise gave rise to the following complaint by the city magistrates to the Duke of Alba: "The husbandman has been robbed of all he possesses by the Beggars, as well as by the soldiers of his royal Majesty. And though we have at divers times decreed that all farmers should safely store their produce within the city, to which they are very much inclined, and which they would gladly do, yet they cannot effect it, owing to the fearful robbery and vexation by the soldiers of his royal Majesty, who, persevering in their customary violence, under pretext of not receiving their pay, steal by wagonloads, even under the walls of the city, the produce carted to the town by the country people."

These Spanish robberies, however, filled the country-people with the desire to avenge themselves; so large numbers of them joined the ranks of the besiegers. Although the Beggars took some, the Spaniards took all. The Sea Beggars intended to remain for a time only; while the Spaniards, if possible, had come to stay. Moreover, joining the ranks of the patriots assured the farmers immunity of plunder from that side; while the Spanish robbed friend and foe alike.

Goes, the principal city of the Island of South Beveland, still remained in the clutches of the Spaniard, and con-

stituted a standing menace to Middelburg's besiegers. Consequently, more than one futile effort had been made by the insurgents while besieging Middelburg to gain over Goes to their cause. In October, 1572, those dauntless but too-careless Sea Beggars, Tseraerts and Entens, again surrounded South Beveland's capital. Their force, consisting of about 4000 men, was strong enough this time to render success possible. But now their watchfulness was at fault. The gallant and daring Mondragon, after a masterly advance through the drowned lands of eastern South Beveland, fell with three thousand troops unexpectedly upon the besiegers, the garrison of Goes making, at the same time, a sally, resulting in the Beggar chiefs being routed with the loss of seven hundred killed.

A few weeks later, on November 2d, an attempt was made by the Sea Beggars to surprise Bergen op Zoom, the distant arsenal and base of supplies for Middelburg. The miscarrying of a letter, which fell into the enemy's hands, frustrated this plan also. At the same time, several fortified towns, which had previously thrown off the Spanish yoke, again succumbed to the enemy, and were visited with the most cruel punishment. Affairs, generally, had taken a turn for the worse, but Middelburg's besiegers did not despair.

They endeavored several times later to surprise the town, but Middelburg's defenders were ever on the alert. The efforts met only with disaster. Those reverses, however, but served to strengthen the determination of the besiegers. The bad reputation of the Zeeland climate, as well as the desperate condition of affairs in other parts of the country, rendered it exceedingly difficult to obtain much-needed reinforcements. Especially was this the case when, as before Goes, seven hundred men were killed at one fell blow. But the Zeelanders continued the siege with their own people,

and with such casual assistance as they were fortunate enough to receive from time to time.

At Middelburg and at Arnemuiden distress increased among the besieged. An early winter had found them without fuel; while the Spanish garrison appropriated for themselves, and made use of, everything that would burn.

Several Spanish efforts to relieve the town by water were frustrated by the ever-victorious Beggars. Only once in a great while did the enemy succeed in throwing a few supplies —much needed—into the besieged stronghold. On November 10th, Adolf Van Haamstede, a Netherland noble, but a staunch loyalist, admiral of the Spanish naval forces in Zeeland, had met with a signal defeat in an effort to relieve the town. Alba dismissed him from office with a polite but very insulting letter, the contents of which ought to have detached every self-respecting Netherlander from the cause of Spain. This letter was as follows : " Very dear and well beloved : Considering that the captains of the Spanish ships are Spaniards, and for this reason are not very willing to obey your commands as would be required in his Majesty's service, and on account of which his Majesty's interests might be endangered, we have found it absolutely expedient and necessary to invest with the office of admiral somebody to whom said captains will show the necessary respect and obedience, and we have therefore chosen the Lord of Beauvoir. We have been pleased to acquaint you with the same by the present, and at the same time to thank you, as we are doing in his Majesty's name, for the services, rendered by you, prior to this, in the office of admiral, which will be most favorably and deservedly remembered. From Nymegen, December 25th, 1572."

The Spaniard, Sanchio D'Avila, was no more successful than the Dutchman, Haamstede. In the middle of January,

1573, D'Avila was sent to Middelburg's rescue, from Antwerp, with a powerful fleet of 56 vessels. But the Zeeland Beggars under Worst and De Moor were more than equal to the haughty Spaniard, and he was repulsed with great loss. They had sunk twelve old ships, loaded with bricks, to prevent the Spanish advance. The strong current, however, dislodged some of the sunken vessels, and D'Avila would still have been able to provision the town if the Zeeland forces had not kept a close watch on him. After a sanguinary naval engagement, the Zeelanders were victorious, and the Spanish admiral was forced to return to Antwerp, without having been able to accomplish his project. The larger Spanish ships fled to Antwerp, the smaller ones to Bergen op Zoom, where the hero of Zierikzee, burgomaster Lieven Jans Kaarsemaker, not only kept these and other Spanish vessels, to the number of 40, shut up in the harbor, but even took the cannon protecting the jetty. A few days later he captured or burnt seventeen Spanish vessels under the protection of the enemy's cannon before Rammekens.

In the middle of February the besieged suffered another great loss through the burning, by the people of Veer, of the Middelburg flagship in the harbor of Middelburg; while the people of Flushing did the same to some other Middelburg vessels guarding the entrance to Arnemuiden.

In the meantime, want, with all its terrible consequences, was stalking through the besieged town. As early as January, 1573, the authorities wrote to Alba: "Already several people within the city have died of privation, and others, among the well-to-do, have nothing but bread, onions, and water to live on. We don't know what further to do to provide bread for the community and the soldiers." These pitiable cries for assistance could be answered only by futile efforts at relief, and the little that now and then could be

carried within the walls was barely sufficient to last a few days.

On February 27th another effort was made by the Spaniards, assisted by the besieged themselves, to throw supplies into the suffering city. But it resulted only in the loss to the relief force of two large ships, which were captured by the Zeelanders, and in the defeat of the Spaniards.

In March following, D'Avila again made the attempt, but this time the Sea Beggars did not even permit him to approach Walcheren: they proceeded to meet him, and between Terneuzen and Borselen the Spaniards again suffered defeat.

More fortunate was D'Avila on April 22d. With a strong fleet of large, well-armed ships, officered by the most experienced commanders in the service, he succeeded in fighting his way past the opposing Sea Beggars, assembled near Borselen. On April 24th he was fortunate enough even to get some supplies into Middelburg. But this partial victory had been bought at an enormous cost to the Spaniards; for when, the day before, the ships were passing the dyke of Flushing, in order to reach Middelburg, a most destructive fire was opened upon them from the shore; while, at the same time, a fearful thunderstorm dispersed a large part of the fleet. One of the Spanish ships, the Elephant, had, owing to her size, been obliged to cast anchor and await high tide, in order to join the other ships. A Zeeland Beggar cut the cable holding the anchor, and the vessel immediately drifted among the Beggar ships. She was boarded, and, after a terrible battle, lasting six hours, during which five hundred men were slain, the Spaniard was taken. The Spanish commander, De Blicquy, was among the killed, but the Beggar captains, Groeneveen, Everkitte, and Cloot also lost their lives. The Spaniards further paid for their partial

success with the loss of at least six ships, several pieces of artillery, and 900 killed. After reaching Middelburg, D'Avila, with his greatly-depleted forces, was immediately closed in. He then deemed it prudent not to venture out as long as the blockade lasted. Unfortunately, most of the Beggar ships had soon to be withdrawn for the purpose of attacking another Spanish force. D'Avila immediately availed himself of this opportunity to escape; fresh supplies, also, could then reach the besieged town by way of Goes.

At first it was thought that beleaguered Middelburg would now have provisions enough to last for nine months. It was soon discovered, however, that the authorities had been too sanguine in their estimates; so the restrictions regarding food became more stringent than before.

On June 8th the authorities at Flushing dismissed their admiral, the Lord of Baerland, and appointed in his place that intrepid Brussels patriot, Louis Van Boisot. From this time on the siege was even more energetically continued. Nearly every day skirmishes took place, the city was more closely invested, and relief expeditions became more and more unsuccessful.

The Spanish authorities in Middelburg deemed it necessary to make at least one more strenuous effort to save the city. Consequently, on June 21st, 1573, the garrison, under the supreme command of Zeeland's Spanish stadholder, the Lord of Wacken, executed a sally in force. His troops were attacked by land and by water; and Wacken while standing on a dyke, exposing himself too much in his eagerness to encourage and direct his troops, was shot dead by a ball from one of the Beggar ships. The Spaniards, forced to retreat, took his inanimate body with them to the city. His successor in office was now absent, Mondragon, the one-eyed, one of the ablest and noblest of Spaniards.

The majority of Middelburg's inhabitants were for liberty, and had it depended upon them, the issue would long before have been decided in favor of the besiegers. More than one attempt to surprise the town was made with the active coöperation of sympathizers from within ; but conditions were never favorable, and the attempts came to naught. One such attempt was to be made on July 1st, 1573. An artillerist from within had agreed to open the Noorddam gate on that day, and he had secretly prevailed upon at least three hundred burghers to aid him in carrying out the scheme. A strong force of the besiegers were to take a concealed position near the Noorddam gate, while, at the same time, another body would make a feint against Arnemuiden, for the purpose of holding the attention of a part of the Middelburg garrison. At the moment of opening the gate, the artillerist was to give a preconcerted signal, and the ambushed besiegers, then, were to rush from their hiding-place and seize the gate. For fear that they would not be able to see the signal, sentinels had been stationed close to the gate, but, unfortunately, they were discovered from the wall. Part of the garrison now made a sally, dispersed the ambush, and the attempted surprise was frustrated. The magistrates, having had their suspicions aroused, now ordered an investigation. As a result, many of the burghers were convicted of attempted treason. Some of them were executed and quartered, after first being subjected to the horrors of the rack.

An attack on the fortress, or castle, of Rammekens met with better success. After a five days' siege, the walls were mined, the garrison was forced to surrender, and on August 14th, 1573, the banner of the prince was floating from its turrets. This conquest was a very inadequate compensation for the loss of Haarlem, which had succumbed to starvation and pestilence four weeks earlier, after a most gallant

defense against the Spanish hosts, a defense that lasted seven months. Yet the conquest of Rammekens was of such importance that the Beggars now dominated the waterway between Flushing and Middelburg. The avenue to Middelburg from the south was practically closed to the enemy, and the investment of the town now became complete. Immediately after the loss of this fortress, the magistrates of Middelburg wrote : " We are now reduced to such extremity that we have nothing to live on, and, owing to the lack of wheat, have, during a long time, eaten bread of oats, of which we have 150 sacks at the utmost. Many soldiers and burghers have already perished on account of want, and our strength is much diminished."

The Lord of Beauvoir, who would have been Wacken's temporary successor as commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces had he been there at the time of Wacken's death, approached on August 14th with a fleet of 80 ships, for the twofold purpose of relieving Rammekens and of throwing men and provisions into Middelburg. Fortunately for the patriots, Rammekens was already in their power, but Beauvoir succeeded in landing at Vrouwenpolder 2400 men, 95 barrels of gunpowder, 21 barrels of saltpetre, and provisions for two months. This relieving force was commanded by Mondragon, Middelburg's new military governor, who had come over with the fleet. After five days of heavy fighting, Mondragon succeeded in reaching Middelburg, where he was most enthusiastically welcomed by the half-famished burghers and soldiers, who had already been obliged to subsist, in part, on linseed-bread. It had been impossible to land all the supplies that were intended for the city ; for the Beggars were approaching the Spanish fleet with fire ships, and Beauvoir was forced to beat a hasty retreat, not without sustaining heavy losses. But this was the last important relief

thrown into the city. From now on, owing to the conquest of Rammekens, and because of the growing experience of the besiegers, the cutting through of their lines became more difficult.

Although the ablest of Spanish commanders, Mondragon, was directing the defense from within, the besiegers, during the several months that they had been in front of the city, had also learned valuable lessons, which they began to put more and more into practise. Besides the few thousands of Beggars in the ships girdling the Island of Walcheren, 6000 more men, by the middle of September, 1573, had enclosed the city by land, and effectually barred every avenue of ingress from without. As a further precaution, some dykes were cut ; for the restless activity and intelligent energy of Mondragon forced the besiegers to be constantly on their guard against surprises from within.

Yet, notwithstanding all their watchfulness, the besiegers could not wholly prevent the smuggling into town of small quantities of provisions. On December 10th, for instance, a party of men succeeded in entering the city with four hundred sacks of rye.

The Zeelanders had more than once requested " Father Willem " to honor and cheer them with a visit : they needed his inspiring presence to steel them in the undertaking, which seemed to become more discouraging the longer it lasted. The siege had now been conducted for more than a year, and still there appeared no signs of surrender.

Accordingly, in answer to the summons of his faithful Zeelanders, the prince, on December 17th, 1573, accompanied by a few vessels, landed at Zierikzee, where his presence called forth the most unbounded enthusiasm. On the 20th he left the city with the object of inspecting the Beggar Fleet of 36 ships, blockading the Spanish squadron in the harbor of

Bergen op Zoom. His speech on board of his yacht to the captains and principal officers of the Zeeland war-ships was deemed a marvel of eloquence, and, if possible, increased, on the part of his hearers, the devotion and loyalty to the cause for which they were so gallantly battling. The prince thereafter inspected the fleet under manifestations of the most devoted loyalty and enthusiasm from all the crews. Highly satisfied with his reception, the great leader returned to Zierikzee, and thence went to Veer, where his presence was the signal for a demonstration as enthusiastic as was ever extended by the people to any governing potentate or popular hero. Attended by half a dozen Beggar ships, and an honorary body-guard, composed of 96 volunteers of Dordt, Zierikzee, and Veer, William landed on December 30th at Flushing, the ultimate goal of his Zeeland trip. Here his reception was, if possible, even more remarkable than in the other two cities ; for, had not the prince come among them to stay, and to direct operations against Middelburg ?

Requesens, Alba's successor in the governor-generalship of the Netherlands, had resolved to make a last supreme and irresistible effort to save the distressed stronghold. He had been apprised of the sad plight of the town, and knew that it could not hold out much longer. The year 1573 had passed away, but relief had failed to reach the suffering city, notwithstanding the most pitiable appeals from the besieged. The month of January 1574 had nearly gone, but still the long-promised, long-expected, assistance was as far off as ever. Within the city, distress had become so great that thousands had perished of hunger and pestilence; in eight weeks 1568 people had succumbed to the fell destroyers.

Mondragon had been obliged to evacuate and to level several advanced intrenchments toward Flushing, owing to

portions of the garrisons continually deserting to the besiegers. The latter, however, generally sent back the deserters from the intrenchments, as well as those from the city, as the contagion was feared. Many of those that had been returned, perished under the walls of the city, because there, also, they were refused readmission.

In Flanders, mercantile transactions were entered into under promise of settlement " at the surrender of Middelburg." For, notwithstanding the fact that the Spaniards were still absolute masters in Southern Netherland, intercourse between that part of the country and the port of Flushing continued as if no state of war existed.

But if the besieged were hard-pressed, the besiegers were also hampered by lack of money, ammunition, and provisions, and, despairing at the obstinate defense of the garrison, began to lose courage ; they even talked of abandoning the seemingly hopeless siege.

At last the relief expedition—the most formidable of any yet fitted out—was ready. The enemy had found means to inform the authorities at Middelburg of its irresistible strength ; and so certain were the magistrates of its success, that they ordered medals to be struck commemorating the siege, and passed resolutions granting special exemptions relative to future taxation to the present magistrates and their surviving widows.

Requesens, to render the expedition as overwhelming and powerful as money and equipment could make it, spared neither pains nor expense. He applied to all of the North European maritime powers to loan or sell the very best of their ships. The stadholder of Holland had been ordered to lend several of his most serviceable vessels to the Middelburg relief force. Never had so powerful and well-equipped a fleet been collected to operate in Zeeland waters. It had

taken a long time to prepare it. In all, nearly half a million ducats had been expended in equipping a fleet of a hundred ships : 200,000 ducats during Requesens' short term of government, and a much larger amount during the last months of Alba's reign.

But while the Spaniards had been preparing, the Beggars had not been idle. Though their fleet was, even now, neither as powerful nor as well-armed and equipped as the armada of the Spaniards, the officers and men had the great advantage of being thoroughly familiar with the Zeeland waters. The crews, also, had been brought up on the sea ; while those of the Spanish galleons chiefly consisted of land-forces. The enemy, moreover, had committed the blunder of dividing their fleet into two squadrons, remote from each other. Besides, the Beggars were inspired with that supreme self-reliance that always follows an unbroken series of successes attained in former engagements with the same enemy.

The disparity of the fleets was therefore not so great as it seemed at first sight.

B. The Naval Battle of Romerswael.

The Spanish Fleet consisted of more than a hundred ships. Seventy-five of the lighter ones had been concentrated at Bergen op Zoom ; thirty of the larger had been gathered at Antwerp. The ships at Bergen op Zoom were nominally under the command of the vice-admiral, De Glimes, but actually under that of Julian Romero, a great soldier, but an exceedingly bad sailor. This was another serious mistake of the Spaniards.

The squadron at Antwerp was commanded by Sanchio D'Avila, the hero, but often the vanquished, in many a hard-fought naval engagement with the blockading Beggar Fleet

before Middelburg. The ships were well provisioned, because this time, Requesens thought, the relief of Middelburg was sure to be accomplished.

The Zeeland Fleet numbered sixty-four ships, forty of which had been sent to Bergen op Zoom, while the rest were being kept in reserve at Flushing. Several of the Beggar ships, and at least two hundred and fifty pieces of their heavy artillery, had been taken from the Spaniards during the twenty-one months of Middelburg's siege.

On January 23d the Spanish squadron at Antwerp left its anchorage, and prepared to sail down the Hont, or Wester Scheldt. It was to proceed to Borselen, and on or before January 30th to unite with the ships sailing from Bergen op Zoom. The plan was then to sail up to Middelburg, and either to evade or defeat the Beggar Fleet, after which it would be an easy matter to release or at least to provision the beleaguered capital. Requesens himself had left his headquarters and gone to Bergen op Zoom, to superintend the expedition there, and to be nearer to the scene of operations.

D'Avila had begun his voyage under inauspicious circumstances ; a bad omen, the superstitious would have called it. He, in fact, not only had to contend with unfavorable weather, but one of his ships foundered not far from Antwerp, and had to be abandoned. Continuing his voyage, he arrived on January 28th within view of Flushing ; but, not knowing the weakness of the squadron stationed there, he deemed it prudent to await Romero's arrival. Probably it was fortunate, for the inferior Beggar ships at Flushing, as well as for the general cause of the patriots, that D'Avila, after some delay, instead of ordering an immediate attack, cast anchor off the opposite shore near Breskens, thus throwingaway the only favorable opportunity the Spaniards

might have had of dealing a death-blow to the hopes of the struggling people.

As soon as the prince had perceived the approach of D'Avila's powerful squadron, he despatched one of the fleetest yachts from Flushing, with written orders to Boysot,—Flushing's admiral,—to detach immediately four of his largest and best ships, and send them back to Flushing, to strengthen the Beggar squadron there. Boysot had stationed himself and his inferior fleet in the Easter Scheldt, between the Islands of Tholen and South Beveland, with the intention of destroying the Spanish fleet of Bergen op Zoom before it should have an opportunity to unite with that of D'Avila. For this purpose Boysot thought he would need all of his forty ships.

On January 29th, 1574, Romero had almost forced De Glimes to leave Bergen op Zoom's harbor. The latter, an experienced sailor, was reluctant to sail, as conditions were not favorable. But Romero insisting, De Glimes obeyed. The junction of the two Spanish Fleets was to take place on January 30th, at the latest. The morning was rainy and cold, but this did not prevent Requesens from leaving Bergen op Zoom and crossing over to the Island of Tholen, where he took up a position on the Schakerloopolder dyke, to review the fleet, and to encourage the crews. Every passing ship saluted the governor-general with the customary salvo. While so doing, the magazine of one of the Spanish vessels caught fire, the ship was blown up, and nearly every one on board perished. But this was only a minor incident; it did not retard the progress of the fleet.

Meantime, Boysot had perfected his measures. He himself had taken up a position opposite the village of St. Maartensdyk on the Island of Tholen, while his vice-admiral, Joost De Moor, with three fast ships, had been sent to

Vosmeer to keep an eye on the enemy's movements, and to inform his superior of the approach of the Spanish Fleet. Hardly had the day dawned on that cloudy winter morning than De Moor reappeared, and informed Boysot that the enemy had sailed with his entire fleet, numbering seventy ships. This great disparity did not discourage the intrepid admiral, and he prepared to receive his enemy fittingly. His position had been well chosen.

At eight o'clock in the morning, the vanguard of the Zeeland fleet, under Joost De Moor, consisting of eight vessels, opened the battle. Boysot, with the main body, consisting of thirty-two ships, made ready to follow.

While about to give the signal for a general attack, Boysot received William's orders to detach four of his best ships, and return them to Flushing. But the Spanish Fleet even now was much stronger than that of the Beggars. Detaching four of his best ships might mean certain defeat. Besides, if D'Avila should attack Flushing, the ships would not arrive in time. Boysot, therefore, deemed it wise to disobey the prince's orders. He sent the yacht back with the verbal message that he would first defeat the Spaniards and then come with his entire fleet to the assistance of Flushing. This measure, strongly savoring of insubordination, caused William some vexation at first, but it proved to be the wiser course. Boysot was on the scene, and able to judge more correctly than the prince, who was far off, and, moreover, had no knowledge of naval affairs.

The firing of a cannon, and the hoisting of a blood-red ensign on the Zeeland admiral's vessel, were the signal for the general attack. The battle that was to decide the fate of Middelburg was about to begin; the contestants on each fleet were in high spirits, each side hopeful of a decisive victory.

On the Beggar Fleet the enthusiasm was so great that even the sick, and those weakened by wounds and disease, desired to take part in the fray. The distressed Fatherland needed every man, and every man was eager to do his full duty. Captain Schot—the hero who had calmly continued to lead his men after his son had been shot dead at his side in an earlier engagement, and who now commanded Admiral Boysot's ship—was on shore, stricken down with pestilential fever. His lieutenant—the Flushing Beggar, Claas Claassen—had temporarily taken his place. But as soon as Schot was informed of the enemy's approach, he ordered his boat-crew to row him on board his ship, although he was scarcely able to stand. It would have been better for him, for his admiral, and for most of his crew had he not taken part.

The incoming tide being in Boysot's favor, his fleet drifted with the current toward the now submerged city of Romerswael. Near here the main body of the enemy's fleet was awaiting them.

The Zeeland admiral having selected the Spanish flagship as his antagonist, he intended to steer alongside and board her. Claas Claassen now advised his admiral to send the major part of the crew below, until the enemy had delivered their first fire, and to keep only enough men on deck to navigate the ship. The impetuous Schot deemed it advisable to have them all assemble on the deck, so as to be ready immediately for boarding, and not to accede the least advantage to the enemy. Boysot, who appears to have had much confidence in Schot's judgment, followed his advice.

While making for the Spaniard, the much smaller and lower Zeelander's deck was swarming with eager men, anxious to risk their lives in battling for their country's liberty. A few minutes later the larger part would be in the throes

of death, victims of the mistaken judgment of their superior officers.

When the Spaniard perceived the approach of Boysot's ship, he permitted the Zeeland admiral to get within musket-shot distance, and then the grape and shell from his broadside caused death and destruction among the densely-packed crew on Boysot's deck. The admiral himself was struck in the cheek, and lost his right eye. Claas Claassen's legs were shot away. Schot lost an arm. Again Romero's pieces belched forth their fire, and one half of Boysot's crew were put out of action. It now appeared as if the day was to be lost to the patriots, and solely on account of following up Schot's inconsiderate advice.

De Glimes, with his ship of ten brass pieces and 150 men, took quick advantage of the temporary disorder on the Zeeland vessel, and immediately boarded her. For Boysot's depleted crew it appeared that the odds would be much too many. But the survivors, led by the admiral and Schot, and encouraged by the dying Claassen, soon rallied, and stoutly defended their ground, though the Spaniards were gaining inch by inch.

Fortunately, Captain Adriaan Cornelissen, also of Flushing, had witnessed the whole proceedings, and he immediately came to his admiral's assistance. He boarded De Glimes on the other side, this timely diversion forcing the Spanish vice-admiral to recall most of his men from Boysot's ship. But another danger threatened the Zeeland admiral. Romero fastened himself to Boysot's board, and passed the order among his men to enter the Zeelander. But the timely assistance rendered by Cornelissen had left Boysot a free hand, and he soon recovered from the consequences of his earlier mistake. Boysot offered no resistance to the intended attack. He even ordered back his men from the

part of the deck where the Spaniards were most numerous. When, finally, about sixty of the enemy had reached his ship, Boysot gave a signal; an explosion followed, and the sixty boarders were hurled into eternity. A mine below the deck had been fired, and the result was as disastrous for the Spaniards as their earlier broadside had been to the Dutch. Romero just escaped destruction. He had been preparing to follow his boarders when the fatal explosion took place.

Instead, then, of being on the defensive, Boysot proceeded to attack Romero's ship. But even now the gigantic Spaniard, with its numerous crew, so surpassed the Zeelander in strength, that it was extremely doubtful whether Boysot would be able to succeed or even to hold out. Help, however, soon arrived; three more Beggar ships went to assist in the attack against the Spanish admiral, and though all four were hardly as strongly manned as the one Spaniard, the issue did not remain doubtful long.

While a terrible battle was raging on the deck and in the rigging of the Spanish ship, Jasper Leynse, a young Beggar sailor of Zoutelande, perceived the admiral's pennant floating from the Spanish mast. While the combat was on below and about him, he nimbly ascended the enemy's rigging, and fought his way through the few defenders of the flag stationed aloft. Detaching it from the cord, he hid it below his jacket, descended amid a shower of bullets, and—more fortunate than Jan Haring of Hoorn—safely reached the deck of his own ship, where he proudly surrendered the valuable trophy to his admiral. As soon as the Beggars saw the Spanish flag disappear, they shouted "Victory is ours! Victory is ours!" and renewed the attack with redoubled vigor. At the same time, the disappearance of their admiral's flag threw confusion and panic among the

Spaniards, who, never at ease on the water, were already half-beaten. As soon as practicable, Romero, replaced the conquered flag with another, but the mischief had been done, and the enemy had become greatly demoralized.

The Beggars were boarding nine more Spanish vessels, and the entire expanse of the water had become a scene of fearful carnage. The lighter Beggar ships could move much more freely than the heavy Spaniards, as their officers and crews were thoroughly acquainted with every shallow, every vantage ground. After having conquered or destroyed one Spanish ship, they went quickly in pursuit of another, never resting so long as there remained an enemy to dispute with them the possession of Zeeland's capital. During the struggle De Glimes' ship grounded, and was set on fire. He himself perished in battle. All of his crew were either slain or drowned. Quarter was neither given nor asked.

Romero's ship, floating about with her four assailants, was leaking, and slowly sinking. Most of Romero's crew had perished or sought escape by swimming. Romero himself jumped out of a port-hole and swam to the near-by shore of the Island of Tholen. He landed at the feet of Requesens, who was still standing on the Schakerloo dyke, whence he witnessed the gradual destruction of his proud fleet.

In the short space of two hours fifteen Spanish ships were taken or destroyed, twelve hundred Spaniards slain, and thirty brass and numerous iron cannon had been captured. The defeat of the Spanish armada was complete.

Only a portion of the Spanish ships, however, had taken part in the combat. Those forming the rear, under Osorio De Angulo, had been prevented by the shallows in the stream from taking a prominent part, and had been almost passive lookers-on at the destruction of their comrades. Before the Zeelanders could follow up their advantage, and attack

Angulo, he had retreated to Bergen op Zoom, where the victors could not follow him.

Immediately after his great victory, Boysot sent some of his least-damaged ships to Flushing; but when they arrived D'Avila had long before left Breskens. As soon as he was informed of the disaster before Romerswael, he weighed anchor, and returned to Antwerp, where he arrived after the loss of three more ships.

C. The Surrender.

The Spanish defeat at Romerswael decided the fate of Middelburg. Slowly, and by degrees, the news of the great Beggar victory reached the ears of the besieged. The rumors, as yet unconfirmed, rendered the garrison desperate, but served to revive the courage of the besieged burghers. The latter, no longer in deadly fear of the Spanish soldiery, almost revolted, demanding of their magistrates that they surrender the town, and thus put a stop to the ever-increasing misery of the city's population. The soldiers also mutinied. Every day at least twenty of them succumbed to hunger and pestilence. They declared that they would rather be cut to pieces than subsist any longer on their miserable rations of linseed bread, which, for several weeks, had constituted almost their only food.

Before entering into negotiations for the surrender of the city, Mondragon desired to obtain authentic information concerning the state of affairs; so, on February 3rd, 1574, he sent Captain Trenchant to Requesens with letters in which he described the desperate situation of the town, and urgently prayed for speedy relief.

In a small boat, manned by four sailors, Trenchant, under cover of darkness, left the harbor of Arnemuiden. But scarcely was he outside when the watchful Beggars discov-

ered the little craft, and speedily set out in hot pursuit. As soon as Trenchant perceived that it was impossible for him to escape, he threw the letters overboard, and surrendered. The Beggars had noticed the spot where he threw the letters into the water, and on the following morning, when the ebb permitted, the locality was dredged, and the lost letters soon brought to the surface. They were taken to the prince, who immediately had them translated. Their contents were most encouraging, and inspired the hope of a speedy fall of the town. This news was the more welcome, as the condition of the besiegers was almost as desperate as that of the besieged. They lacked nearly everything, and had already resolved to abandon before long the apparently-hopeless siege.

The prince now showed the letters to the representatives of Flushing and of the other allied towns. Their contents so encouraged them that Flushing immediately advanced 14000 guilders, while a few days later the people of Zierikzee sent six thousand large loaves of bread. These advances were sufficient to enable them to continue the siege a few weeks longer.

Trenchant was now conducted before Bergen op Zoom and Antwerp, where he could personally convince himself that both divisions of the Spanish Fleet were being blockaded by Beggar squadrons, and could not possibly come to Middelburg's assistance. Thereupon he was taken back to the camp before Middelburg, and here exchanged for two captured Zeeland officers.

Returning to the besieged city, Trenchant reported what he had witnessed. Mondragon now became fully convinced that the city's fall was near. He wrote to the magistrates of Middelburg that he could provide no longer for his soldiers, and, consequently, he would be unable to maintain

discipline. He further asked whether they could assist him in his task? The answer had been foreseen. The entire proceeding was a formality only, and was but preliminary to entering into negotiations for the city's surrender. The magistrates answered that they could in no manner assist him, and, at the same time, they requested the commander to enter into negotiations while there was yet time, and not to forget the city's interests.

Still, Mondragon was desirous of exhausting every means in his power to save the city for his master. On February 15th he wrote to the prince requesting leave to travel to Requesens, and consult with him concerning the condition of affairs relative to negotiations for surrender. Mondragon's request, as was to be expected, met with a polite refusal. Instead, the prince wrote to the Spanish commander, saying that, on the following day, he would send commissaries to Fort Rammekens to discuss terms of surrender with the Spanish commissaries, who were to be despatched by Mondragon.

But it was not until February 18th, when every hope of relief had vanished, and almost the last vestige of food in the town had been consumed, that Mondragon consented to send his commissaries. The prince then demanded an unconditional surrender. Upon being informed of this demand, Mondragon answered that rather than submit to such humiliating conditions, he would set fire to the city in twenty different places, and court death in an effort to cut his way through the lines of the besiegers.

The prince knew the man, and he felt, also, that this reply was not a vain threat, an empty boast. The Spaniard cared nothing for the city or its many rich art-treasures; nor for the city's inhabitants. Besides, the forces at the prince's disposal would be too weak to cope successfully

with the numerous Middelburg garrison; led, too, by a commander so able as Mondragon and nerved with such desperation. It was very probable that, even under the most unfavorable outcome for the Spaniards, several hundreds of them would escape through the lines of the besiegers, and would, for a long time to come, terrorize the open country of Walcheren, looting, burning, and murdering.

To prevent so calamitous a result, the prince acceded to Mondragon's conditions, stipulating that the garrison should evacuate the city with martial honors, and that such of the inhabitants as might desire, should be permitted to leave with the soldiers. Mondragon himself was to return within two months, and enter into captivity, if, during that time, he should fail to bring about the liberation of five prisoners-of-war among the Spaniards; one of these was the famous Beggar Captain Jacob Simonsz De Ryck,—he of the "Bloody Company",—who had been captured the year before after an unsuccessful attempt upon the City of Tholen.

On the following day, February 19th, the terms for the city itself were announced; consisting of the payment of a war contribution amounting to 300,000 guilders ($120,000), and the curtailment of some exclusive privileges. The day that the prince entered into the town the contribution was cut down to 100,000 guilders ($40,000).

On February 21st, 1574, the City of Middelburg, after a siege lasting nearly twenty-two months, was to be taken possession of by the patriot forces. A temporary garrison of three hundred men, taken mostly from the ships, would replace the Spanish troops, who, on that day, evacuated the town and were conducted to Flanders on the ships of those same Sea Beggars that had principally been instrumental in bringing about the city's fall.

On the same day and on following days large numbers of vessels from Flushing and from the whole of Zeeland arrived at Middelburg, loaded with provisions for the survivors of the siege. Famine was fortunately at an end, but her twin sister, the plague, still continued to demand her share from the enfeebled victims of the long siege. Many, then, met sudden death by eating too ravenously of the abundant food, so long denied.

Three days later, on February 24th, the prince entered the now loyal city, which had been profusely decorated for the occasion. At first, joy was much tempered with anxiety, especially among the magistrates; for they did not yet know what disposition would be made of them. But when the princely conqueror, on the Dam, assured the various deputations, come to render him homage, that he would be a father to them, their happiness was unbounded. Wherever he went he was received with the most glowing manifestations of joy and loyalty. The people were only too happy to be permitted now to take part in the subsequent work of liberation, so long retarded by the stubborn resistance of the powerful Spanish hosts that had taken possession of the gates.

Three millions of dollars had been the amount spent by the Spanish authorities in vain attempts at relief during the two years that the siege had lasted. Had the city been readily approachable from the land, the feeble and badly organized forces of the besiegers would have been defeated long before, and have been scattered or captured by the veteran Spanish armies. Middelburg, then, would have remained as much of a Spanish stronghold as were Amsterdam to the north, and Antwerp and Brussels to the south. But fortunately there was a wide expanse of water between the Spanish headquarters and the besieging burghers. The

dauntless courage and superior skill of the Sea Beggars, in their frail ships, proved an insurmountable barrier to Spanish prowess, and Middelburg was gained over to the cause of the patriots by the men that, from freebooters, had become the staunchest champions of their country's freedom.

Chapter Nine.

The Relief of Leyden.

HARDLY had the waves compelled the Spaniards to withdraw from Alkmaar, when it was resolved to force Leyden to return to the obedience of the king. On October 30th Alba's son, Don Frederick, led the king's army against that city, and began the investment. This time the costly experiences of Haarlem and of Alkmaar were not to be repeated. There was to be no storming. Starvation would be resorted to, and it was to be brought about by the most rigid investment. Leyden's population of 15,000 and garrison of 500, one of whose officers was Treslong—the great Sea Beggar—were to be starved into submission. Unfortunately, Leyden had neglected to provide for the unexpected siege, and, therefore, when the Spanish hosts arrived, the time for receiving supplies was past.

When the investment had lasted a little more than six weeks, Alba left the country, December 18th, 1573, and his son Frederick, accompanying his father, gave over the supreme command to Don Francisco De Valdez, who continued the siege. After four months, and when the consequences were beginning to tell, the prince's brothers, Louis and Henry of Nassau, fortunately created a diversion by invading the country from the east. On April 14th, 1574, the fatal battle of Mook took place, which resulted not only in

the total defeat of the invading force, but in the death of the two Nassau brothers, who lost their lives battling nobly for the freedom of the Netherlands. The Spanish troops, which had been withdrawn from before the city to resist this invasion, reappeared before Leyden on May 26th, 1574. The authorities, not believing that the siege would be resumed, again had neglected to provision the town. Soon the sad consequences of this neglect became visible. The enemy had thrown up no less than sixty-two redoubts for the purpose of closing every avenue of approach ; and every road and canal leading to the city had been occupied by Spanish posts.

The Dutch historian W. J. Hofdyk, in " Leyden's Wee en Zegepraal " (Leyden's Woe and Victory) picturesquely and dramatically relates the story of the city's siege and relief. A partial translation of the last chapter of his book, " De Zegepraal "—in which the services of the Sea Beggars are so graphically described—follows below :

"The Victory.

I.

"WHILE, among the enemy, the report, sometimes denied, but ever again reaffirmed, was circulating—even in far distant Antwerp, where Requesens had his headquarters—that the prince had died, but that his demise was kept a secret, the hero of the Netherlands had happily recovered, and was again active.

" About this same time, the River Maas, flowing before Rotterdam, gloried in the fact that her yellow waves were carrying the relief expedition. On the third day of Septem-

ber a Flushing ship, armed with 52 pieces, had arrived before the quay. A few days later Rotterdam's harbor swarmed with vessels, that cast anchor there, and, with sailors and soldiers, quickly filling the town. Among the ships, first of all, seven *Kromstevens* were noticed, heavily armed with artillery, and manned by 800 sailors. Other vessels had been equipped with less heavy artillery, consisting of over a hundred iron and brass pieces, double and single swivel-guns, and many pieces of lighter caliber. There were also several flat-bottomed vessels,—subsequently augmented by many others, equipped at Gouda and Delft, bringing the number to at least 200,—each armed with one brass piece, some of them with two pieces, on the forecastle, and from two to six swivel-guns on the sides—propelled by oars ranging from ten to eighteen in number.

"The public houses along the quay were, at the time, filled with men whose appearance was well disposed to force Rotterdam's maidens to seek safety in flight. They were those Zeeland sailors, who, initiated into the profession of arms on the ships of the Sea Beggars, had, since that time, with the greatest boldness, continued the struggle on the Zeeland waters, even as far distant as before the walls of Antwerp. The great majority of them were sturdy fellows with weather-beaten countenances and close-cropped hair, but with shaggy beards and fierce mustaches. A large proportion of the faces was marked with cuts, gashes, and scars—their badges of honor. Many had even been mutilated, and, consequently, hobbled on wooden legs, or carried an arm lamed or made stiff through wounds. But whether able to use only one or both arms,—they are united in courage, bordering upon rashness; they are one in their hatred of Spain. The cruel martyrdom of the racks and pyres of the Inquisition, seen with their own eyes, were yet fully remem-

bered by them, and served to keep alive the fury against everything Spanish.

"Without discipline these fanatical sons of liberty constituted an actual danger for the very cause that they so ardently supported. Under thoughtful leaders they constituted the material force whose formidable activity had already caused the most severe losses to Spain.

"And those leaders were present; for it was not the Zeeland sailors alone that had disembarked at Rotterdam.

"The prince had entrusted the chief command of the expedition to that tried admiral, Louis Boisot. Born at Brussels, he was now the famous hero of the Zeeland waters, where, at Romerswaal and at Gorishoek he had destroyed the Spanish armada, and had subsequently captured their admiral on the Scheldt, within sight of Antwerp.

"Besides him were present the gallant admiral of Zierikzee, Adriaan Willems, and the daring vice-admiral of Flushing, Cornelis Claassen, whose tremendous power the Spaniards had felt on the Swin and near Roemerswaal.

"Among the ship captains none was more prominent than Joost De Moor, the son of that bold Zeelander of Flemish origin, Jan De Moor, to whose courage the defeated D'Avila could bear witness.

"Many a savage graybeard, also, looked respectfully up to a young nobleman only 27 years old, who, more than six years before, had unsheathed his sword against Spain, and had assisted in gaining over Den Briel—yonker Frederick Van Dorp, a nephew of the admiral.

"There was also a Brabant nobleman, a friend of Van Dorp's uncle Aernout. He it was—yonker Philip Van der Aa—who, with great boldness, had surprised Mechelen, and who, the year before, had been Sonoy's able adviser, and had been instrumental in fortifying the cities in the northern

part of the province of North Holland. He had a prominent share in the measures taken for the relief of Alkmaar; he now took part in the relief of Leyden.

"Kennemer freebooters from the North of Holland—bold partisans in the cause of their country's liberty against its enemies—had also turned their vessels' prows southward, and had come to join in the attempt to relieve the sorely-pressed city. The principal one among them was Joachim Cleynsorgh, well known among his sailors as a man of great experience and bold courage, and who, at the beginning of the year, had been appointed by Sonoy commander of the North Holland galleys.

"The soldiers, destined for the fleet, were commanded by Colonel De la Garde, a soldier as active as he was able, whose sharp blade the Spaniards in the regions of the Zaan had been taught to respect and fear. Among the gallant officers serving under him, were Leyden's former governor, Noyelles; the Huguenot, Durand; Noyelles' lieutenant, the Italian Citadelle, whose intrepidity was equal to the most dangerous undertaking; Bultran, one of the prince's vassals; and several other valiant men whose courage was soon to be made manifest.

"As the prince himself was not yet strong enough to risk the fatigues of a voyage, he despatched the Admiral Boisot to Schieland and La Garde, and councillor Peter Wasteel to Delfland, to acquaint him thoroughly with the condition of the rising waters. And the reports of the emissaries were of such a nature that he gave orders to retard the sailing of the fleet a few days longer.

"When [on the evening of Friday, September the 10th] the sun had set, and darkness was enveloping the fields; when the silence of night rendered it more easy to discern distant noises; the people on Leyden's southern ramparts

heard the sound of cannon and the rattle of musketry coming from afar, in the direction of the Boundary division. While they were listening,—sometimes with bated breath and bounding heart,—the sky in the same direction assumed a reddish hue, and soon flames were seen to ascend—all of which pointed to one explanation only: relief was approaching, and friends were battling with the enemy. The hearts of the people were gladdened by a happy expectation, and the joyful news traveled soon through the city,—relief was coming nearer.

"Indeed, the bold attempt—unique in the fruitful history of the struggle of nations—had been entered upon. That same day the admirals, with the deputies of the States and of the admiralty, had joined the fleet—whose crews of soldiers, as well as of sailors, were complete—and now the anchors were heaved, the sails hoisted, the oars plied, and, filled with enthusiasm and courage, they sailed out of the Rotte. This portion of the fleet numbered about thirty galleys; other ships, also, were at the same time departing from Gouda and Delft. Supply ships, two companies of pioneers, and whatever else was deemed necessary for so adventurous and yet so holy an expedition, had been provided; and thus the vessels, propelled by the mighty strokes of the oarsmen, had directed their course toward the Boundary division.

"The farther north they came, and the nearer they approached the Boundary division,—while darkness was more closely enveloping the submerged land, and Boisot was not able to consult his 'Silver mounted Compass' without the aid of a lighted lantern,—it doubtless became very quiet on the fleet; for they were nearing the enemy's outposts, and they wanted, if possible, to surprise them. The Boundary division rose only a foot and a half above the water, and, conformable to the prince's excellent plans, was to be cut

between the Reguliersdam and Wilsveen, but nearest to the first-named place. About one hour after the steeple of Reguliersdam had in its dark solitude announced the midnight hour, the fleet was near the impeding dyke. Colonel La Garde and Captains Durand and Catteville, with about 150 of their men, besides a number of diggers with shovels and spades,—protected by the guns of sixteen galleys,—clambered up against the slope, and had already sufficiently entrenched themselves in two places on the summit of the dyke before the enemy became aware of their presence.

"Within half an hour, however,—for, besides the treacherous smell of the burning fuses, it was impossible to throw up trenches and cut the dyke in complete darkness,—the Spaniards perceived that something was wrong, and immediately attempted to right it. From Zoetermeer several companies of infantry, eager for battle, hastened to the spot. At the same time, cavalry was approaching from Wilsveen.

"In the dead of night the roar of cannon thundered across the water, augmented by the sharp and repeated detonations of musketry, the echoes reverberating far and wide.

"For the purpose of leaving more room for cuttings, the intrenchments had been thrown up four or five musket shots' distance from one another. This distance was really too far, as the galleys could not keep close enough together, but were obliged to separate for the sake of supporting the defense in both directions. At the eastern intrenchment, moreover, there appeared a fresh impediment. Boisot had taken up a position near the dyke, and had insisted upon the garrison permitting the attacking Spaniards to approach close enough to receive the full charge. But the French soldiers, no longer able to control their ardor, attacked the enemy—too soon. However, six galleys were able to

unite their fire, thereby causing sad havoc among the Spaniards, who, with the greatest gallantry, made two attacks but were forced at last to retire.

" La Garde personally commanded at the westerly intrenchment, and though the Spaniards had here the support of their cavalry, they did not fare any better than on the opposite side. The defenders, however,—hardly twenty strong,—remained within the breastworks, because the assailants—estimated at more than 150—were on this side exposed to the fire of the galleys, and would not, in the experienced colonel's judgment, come near enough to think of storming. A gallant defense, therefore, would be sufficient. Here, also, all performed their duty so courageously, that cavalry as well as infantry were obliged to discontinue the attack, and seek safety in flight. The artillery of the galleys, being able to reach the retiring enemy for a short distance, still unhorsed a few of the enemy's cavalry.

" The battle had lasted five hours. The dawn of day revealed that on the Spanish side twelve dead had been left behind. That loss was certainly not heavy, and the victory had cost the victors even less, only one soldier and one sailor having been killed. A few others among the sailors had been wounded, among them the admiral's helmsman, who had been shot through the arm.

" The rising sun disclosed a most encouraging scene : the diggers had been laboring assiduously, and the foaming waves of the River Maas were inundating the verdant plains of Rhineland.

II.

" In the same night that the battle was raging in the drowned polders at the Boundary division, four watchful, daring men left Leyden's gate for the purpose of hastening

by different roads to the prince. They were Jan Frick, Lubbert De Ketelboeter, Joris Slot, and Heynrik Nachtegael, all having promised under oath not to lose any time, but to hasten back to the city as soon as they should have learned 'the condition and opportunity of the relief.' They carried letters from the magistrate, 'in which information was given concerning the exhausted condition of the burghers, and their wasted condition by long starvation, on account of which their guards also were weak; praying that the relief should be hastened; fearing that the Boundary division had not yet been cut, as they did not perceive any water.'

"This anxious solicitude, this sad complaint, this urgent prayer was no exaggeration, it rather presented too weak a picture of the real state of affairs.

"Assisted by the darkness of night, between September 14th and 15th, the recently-despatched messengers succeeded in reëntering the city. They brought letters from Rotterdam, not from the prince alone, but also from the 'well-disposed allies, the knights, nobles, and cities of Holland, all representing the States of the said country, besides the councillors near his excellence.'

"The following morning the city-hall bell, as was the custom almost daily, sounded. This time, however, it did not ring to assemble the people to listen to the publication of some ordinance, rendered necessary by the distress of the moment, but for the purpose of publicly informing the burghers that they could yet rely upon the princely motto,

'Your protector will not sleep!'

"The answer of the States, communicated to the eager multitude gathered near the Blue Stone, was encouraging enough: 'It was known to all people that they spared neither labor nor expense to relieve the city. Neither did

they doubt that the people of Leyden, on their part, would show the necessary constancy, prove themselves faithful allies, and reject all the enemy's insidious and alluring blandishments, by which said enemy was endeavoring to get them into his power. They also ought to retain the prize, that, in the estimation of all the world, they had already gained. They informed the burghers, at the same time, that the messengers sent out by them, had, with their own eyes, witnessed the cutting of the Boundary division.'

" The prince's letter—in which he ' very much thanked the burghers for the great loyalty they had shown him, and in which he assured them that they should not doubt, through the blessing of God, that victory was near '—was to be considered as the great seal to the declaration of the States, and inspired the suffering people with renewed confidence, notwithstanding the fact that only 74 head of cattle were slaughtered that day.

" On Wednesday the 15th, the tireless Van Hout selected two sheets of paper ; one was destined for the States, the other for Boisot. To the former he wrote by authority of the magistrates, that ' they joyfully thanked God and the States for the aforesaid cutting of the dyke,' but they also ' made known their distress, and desired that the work begun should be proceeded with for their relief.' The second letter, addressed to Admiral Boisot, had not been finished as quickly ; for it was written in cypher, about which they had already agreed. In this letter, also, the woful condition of affairs was described, while Boisot was urgently requested ' to exert every effort ' for a speedy relief, and also to send full information about the part they were expected to take in it : ' it would be seen that they did not intend to hang back.'

" And they had abundant reasons for feeling encouraged

in their determination to maintain their resistance. From the dawn of the same day—about four o'clock in the morning—till full noon the incessant war of artillery was plainly audible from the south. Since early morn heavy smoke-clouds had been seen ascending there, interspersed with columns of flame. The watchers on the city-wall near the Vlietgat, suddenly perceived distant flames, leaping high into the air, immediately followed by a huge pillar of black smoke. A little later they pointed out to one another an unusual commotion on the road leading from Zoetermeer to the Wedde. They soon discovered that this was caused by large numbers of Spanish cavalry, who, in no great order, were hurrying in the direction of Voorschoten. Could they be fugitives that had already been chased by the prince's men from their intrenchments? Reports from the eastern ramparts seemed to convey an affirmative reply to this question. A number of barges had been seen there to arrive at Leyderdorp from the south, subsequently moving up the Zyl, and going in the direction of Haarlem, by way of the lake. Moving in the way that they did, it gave rise to the surmise that they were a transport of wounded men.

"The truth is that sharp fighting had taken place there.

"The cheering heard on the preceding Friday at the cut in the Boundary division, had been, in one respect at least, a little too premature. After the waters had entered through the gap, and they intended to make for the Zoetermeer Lake, across the inundated fields of the Drymans polder, it was discovered that this polder's southerly dyke, the so-called Green road, still stood a foot and a half above the inundation.

"The dawn of Tuesday, September 14th, disclosed great activity and bustle on the fleet, which had been increased by some galleys and supply ships. The sun had hardly

begun to spread its light over the expanse of water, when La Garde, with 600 musketeers, took possession of the dyke and hurriedly threw up intrenchments, which was greatly favored by the topography of the dyke, indented as it was with several depressions; while the nearest enemy was on another road, a musket-shot distant. To protect the intrenchments, Boisot flanked them with armed vessels to the right and left at only a musket-shot distance. He now thought that he would be able, through the several pools and canals, to enter the Zoetermeer Lake, when a fresh and very embarrassing impediment presented itself: the water on the fields was not high enough to make straight for the Front road, which served as the Northern dyke of the Drymans polder. Only one canal led into the lake, and this canal was spanned by a bridge, where it cut through the aforesaid road, or dyke.

"Now they lay becalmed, as it were, between two fires. Toward the east, at somewhat more than a mile distance, the steeple of Zoetermeer raised its spire from among the trees; toward the west, only a little farther away, the chapel of Wilsveen was visible—both villages occupied by strong bodies of Spanish troops. It was plainly apparent from the ships that the Spaniards, fully aware of the importance of their positions, were busily engaged in fortifying the bridge and the houses near it, so as effectively to check the progress of the Beggars, and render it impossible for them to get through.

"La Garde, commanding the advance of the fleet, opened fire upon the enemy, but soon perceived that it caused very little damage, and that the number and caliber of his artillery ought to be considerably increased. After a council of war, he went the next day to Delft, whither the prince had preceded him, to be better able to lend every possible assist-

ance in the great undertaking. And here La Garde made his report. The prince now summoned the ingenious Antwerper, Johan Van Asseliers, 'Commissary-general of the Artillery and munitions of War.' La Garde, in company with the latter, and with four grain barges, all equipped with a twenty-six pounder, and with a peculiarly-equipped warship, "The Ark of Delft", rejoined the fleet on the following Thursday. These additional vessels, flat-bottomed, and of only two feet draught, had been protected on the forecastle by a double wall of heavy boards, filled between with wet nets, so that the artillerists stood shot-free.

"Immediately after the arrival of these reinforcements, a council of war was convened on board the flagship. Here it was resolved not to waste any more time, but, after leaving a sufficient guard of men and ships at the trenches on the Boundary division and on the Green road, to attack the enemy early the next day at the bridge on the Front road.

III.

"Thus the morning of the 17th day of September dawned upon the inundated fields between the Green road and the Front road, where, at this time, the yellow waves of the river Maas mingled with the brown waters of the marshes. Notwithstanding the exertions of sailors, as well as those of commanders, to get everything into shape, and the ships into motion, the hands on Zoetermeer's steeple pointed to the hour of eight before they were ready to begin the attack upon the Spanish positions.

"Valdez himself had gone to Zoetermeer for the purpose of personally directing the defense. The peculiarities of the place had been ably utilized to fortify it. All the houses on both sides of the bridge commanded one another; small

trenches had, moreover, been dug at various points; while the whole length of the dyke had been provided with ample breastworks. Other obstructions, both natural and artificial, impeded in several places the approach to the slope of the dyke—now becoming muddy, although there was not yet much water—thus offering additional protection to the Spaniards, who were stationed on the fortified bridge and within and without the houses, and were said to be thirty companies strong.

"Notwithstanding this strong position, Valdez regarded with some misgivings the hostile fleet, advancing under his very eye against himself and his army. There in the van, and leading the attack, he perceived a clumsy, queerly-constructed flat-bottomed vessel, without rudder or sails—a floating fortress, as it appeared to him. It was the Ark of Delft. Had he been in a position to examine it closer, he would have perceived two prows; for the warship consisted of two vessels, lashed together, around them a breastwork built of walls thick enough to resist musketballs. There was room enough for fifty armed men, while twelve other men turned the axis that set in motion the paddlewheels between the vessels.

"Without being aware of the many difficulties awaiting him, Boisot quietly proceeded on the canal leading to the bridge. In another stream, to the right of him, was Adriaan Willems, with two of the Delft vessels, and to the left were the other two. More ships, armed with nearly sixty pieces, followed. Thus they approached the enemy, and at last, about eight o'clock in the morning, they gave him the full charge. And the nimble Zeeland Beggars proved so expert in loading and discharging the artillery, that the roar of the cannon incessantly echoed and reëchoed in all directions. The musketeers, not less expert in discharging their muskets

sent the bullets whistling so incessantly that Valdez declared that, excepting the attack upon the Emperor's troops at Ingoldstadt, he had never experienced so terrific a fire. The Spanish commander, for the purpose of supporting his musketeers, had put into action two field-pieces, which kept up a continuous fire ; to the great detriment of his assailants, he thought, as the numerous vessels were so close together that not a single shot would be fired in vain. But he was mistaken. Only four or five persons on the fleet were killed, and a few others were wounded. But excepting the ships on the canal, which ran below the bridge, the rest of the fleet was hardly able to approach the dyke within musketshot. On this account the brisk fire of the Beggars caused smoke enough, but failed to dislodge the enemy.

" Protected by the fire of the ships, however, Captains Catteville and Durant, besides the latter's lieutenant, Guilleresse, ventured in a small boat to the shore, and with thirty of their arquebusiers, stationed behind piles of turf, caused considerable losses to the Spaniards.

" About noon, Boisot perceived the uselessness of the attack. Meanwhile, the grain barges had sprung heavy leaks, owing to the jolting caused by the heavy firing from their decks. Boisot accordingly gave the order to retreat, which took place in perfect order. The French on the dyke unfortunately perceived it too late. The enemy began attacking them in large numbers and they hurriedly sought safety in their skiff. The little vessel, however, capsized, and Catteville and Guilleresse, besides seven soldiers, lost their lives in the water. Some of the others were overtaken by the Spaniards and killed, but Durant and the majority of the soldiers escaped by swimming, and were saved by the ships.

" ' I don't believe they will again attempt to break

through; they have suffered too much for that,' thought Valdez, and he boasted of his great success after a fire so terrific, and one that had not cost him more than nine killed. He did not, however, mention his wounded, who, besides the killed, had been transported in vessels to Utrecht and Haarlem.

"Still, the general's judgment was correct. But the men of the relief were far from giving up the attempt. After the retreat, a council of war was again convened, and Van der Aa was consequently requested by Boisot and La Garde to proceed to Delft and acquaint the prince with the state of affairs. He was, at the same time, to ask the prince whether it would not be better to storm the redoubt at the Leyden Dam, for the purpose of gaining entrance into the Vliet? He was probably accompanied by a young volunteer, who, two years before, had risked his life in the futile attempt to relieve Haarlem, and who was now prevented by sickness from remaining longer with the fleet—the 27 year old Johan Van Oldenbarnevelt.

"The prince, considering what ought to be done, and done immediately, addressed himself to Wasteel. Having been informed by Zevenhuizen's secretary, Leendert Pietersen, and by two country people, Jeroen Cornelissen of Zoetermeer, and Cornelis Willemsen of Benthuysen, that near the Zevenhoven watergates, opposite the Zegwaard road, between Zoetermeer and Benthuysen, there was a good place for cutting their way through, this enthusiastic patriot thereupon departed himself for the fleet. He was accompanied by a ship-carpenter of Zoetermeer,—Wolfert Adriaensen,—who had volunteered to act as pilot, because he was born at Leyden, and was thoroughly familiar with the surrounding country.

"Pending these movements, the fleet, meanwhile, had for

two days remained inactive. After the seventeenth, the wind had shifted and now blew strongly from the northwest, attended by heavy showers. There was no time to be lost. La Garde at first intended to make a reconnoissance with two or three light vessels. After a council of war, however, the larger part of the fleet—for the purpose of deceiving the enemy—remained opposite the Front road. But in the evening, eight galleys, with about eighty French and Walloon arquebusiers and sixty pioneers, sailed in an easterly direction toward the Zevenhoven watergates. Boisot, La Garde, and Wasteel were present ; and the greater depth of the fields, owing to which the water stood higher, rendered the expedition a success. The watergates were not guarded ; the houses were unoccupied. The Spaniards had left there two days before, not having the slightest idea that any attempt would be made against that point. The night was now spent in restless activity. Favored by a moonless sky, the pioneers went to work, and persisted with unabated energy, notwithstanding the fact that the water rose up to their knees, and the cold wind chilled them through. The watergates were demolished and widened, and to the north and south of them intrenchments were thrown up, strong enough, in the judgment of the officers, to resist the attack of at least two thousand men. Captains Bouchard and Ladrierre occupied the trench toward Zoetermeer ; the Lord of Citadelle and Captain Vaurigault took up a position in the redoubt toward Benthuysen, and forty arquebusiers were placed in each fortification.

"Yet all this could not be accomplished without making some noise. Nor was it possible to work without light, however dim. The Spanish garrison at Benthuysen, therefore, perceived that something was happening. Panic-stricken, they profited by the darkness, and sought safety in

precipitate flight. As soon as this became known, Captain Citadelle, early the next morning, immediately proceeded to the village, and occupied the abandoned position.

"While Boisot and Noyelles remained behind to protect the intrenchments, and to bombard fiercely a trench on the Zoetermeer road, La Garde had returned to the fleet, which received orders to join the galleys in a body. The gallant colonel, with only twenty-five sharpshooters, brought up the rear, to protect the Ark of Delft, whose awkward build, together with the constant shifting of the canal bottoms, had caused much difficulty in those marshy regions. The double prow scarcely made any headway. The impetuous La Garde—impatient at the loss of so much precious time—already intended to set fire to the ship, when Vice-Admiral Claessen came to his assistance, by removing the cannon, thus lightening the heavy vessel, so that she was soon again afloat. Three hours had been lost, but the Spaniards at the Zoetermeer bridge did not even attempt to profit by the delay. Yet, with only fifty musketeers, they could, according to the judgment of the Beggars themselves, have caused considerable damage to their departing enemy.

"Now the fleet sailed unopposed to the Zegwaard road, and after La Garde's arrival there, Boisot again convoked a council of war, to discuss what was to be done next.

"Some were for an immediate advance; others advised to tarry a little longer for the sake of more thoroughly reconnoitering the course to be taken, and the better to be ready fittingly to receive the enemy, who, they thought, was likely to appear suddenly either there or at some other point near by. They also deemed it prudent to await there the arrival of the provisions, two-thirds of which had remained behind. Boisot, however, believed it wise not to grant the enemy any respite, but to follow up the advantages gained, and, if

possible, to show themselves that very day even to the people of Leyden, whose courage would then be much increased.

"Thus it was resolved. Now the welcome news came that the Spanish soldiers, stationed at Zoetermeer, had unexpectedly followed the example of their Benthuysen comrades, and had retreated in the direction of Leyden. Valdez perceiving that their occupation there had become useless, had recalled them. The Zoetermeer redoubt was now occupied by Captain Cret, with three companies of foot-soldiers, whereupon Boisot, in the afternoon, again went west with twenty vessels, each armed with eight arquebusiers. Propelled by sails and oars, they sped forward into the drowned lands below the Weipoort. Boisot, Durant, and the Dutch nobles led the van; the restless and active La Garde commanded the rear, which had been somewhat retarded by the execution of several necessary measures. Fortunately, the admiral found here wide ditches and canals before the prow, and also had the new pilot, Adriaensen, on board; for the fields of the Weipoort appeared to be rather high, the waters having not yet penetrated there. The trees—in many other spots immersed to the lower branches of the crown—had not been touched here, and the cattle still pastured undisturbed in the meadows.

"The Spaniards probably had no idea that the bold Beggars would ever venture here; and, mystified by the stay of the six ships at the Boundary division,—of which they knew not what to think,—had not taken any precautions in this section, although they had occupied a fortified position on the little lake, the Noord Aa, which the van would soon reach, and where all the ships of the fleet could unite.

"Boisot had hardly approached the little lake,—to almost within musketshot distance, and near two dwellings,—when

from his galley it was seen that a body of Spanish infantry, between two hundred and three hundred strong, was precipitately retreating from the houses, setting fire to one, and hurriedly attempting to reach a third, which had evidently been fortified. Boisot encouraged his rowers to double their efforts, in order to cut off the retreat, but the fugitives were too quick for him, and safely reached their shelter. Upon approaching the house, the galley was suddenly greeted with a hail of bullets, coming from the house, as well as from the trenches, and even from behind the shelter of a few hay-stacks. Boisot vigorously replied to this fire, his artillery serving so effectively that the Spanish fire was at last silenced, while heavy clouds of smoke enveloped the combatants. About midnight he deemed it expedient to warn the enemy once more of his presence, and a number of musketeers were ordered to discharge their pieces. But their fire was replied to by only four or five shots.

"And when, after having passed the night with effective preparations, the Beggar Chief, on the following morning, intended to storm the stronghold, he found the house deserted, and the trenches empty. The Spanish troops, under cover of darkness of night, had noiselessly quitted their camp, and sought refuge at Zoeterwoude. There Valdez had joined Captain Ayala, and was fortifying the dyke, full of wrath about the storm, the ever-increasing waters, and the advancing Beggars.

"The doughty Zeeland admiral, on the contrary, elated at the favorable turn of affairs, now exchanged the sword for the pen, and, in a happy frame of mind, wrote a cordial letter to the Lord of Noordwyk, in which he informed him of the proximity of the fleet, and, in pleasant expectation of renewing an old acquaintanceship, bespoke for himself quarters in the lord's house. But the messenger that had

been despatched with the letter, finding the roads too closely guarded by the enemy, returned on board without having been able to reach Leyden and deliver his messages.

IV.

"And within Leyden the people, from morning till night, were daily scanning the southern horizon whence salvation was to come. With prayerful hearts they were anxiously, longingly sweeping the green meadows to see whether they were not yet turning gray with the rushing waters, that were to wash away the sorrow and the hunger and the great mortality.

"For the situation within the city's gates was sad, and sorrowful scenes had been experienced. At one time, a number of famished burghers had gathered around burgomaster Van der Werff as he was walking along the street unattended. Men and women with lean features, hollow cheeks, and emaciated limbs called his attention to their condition, showed him their dying children, and implored him to surrender the city, that they might not succumb like so many others had succumbed to the misery that had overtaken them.

"Then this man gave the following reply: 'Hark, my dear fellow citizens! I have sworn an oath, which I hope to God, the giver of all good things, I shall have the strength to keep! If my death can benefit you—I must die some time—it is the same to me whether you kill me now or the enemy kills me. My cause is just. If, therefore, my death can benefit you—take my body, cut it to pieces, and divide them as far as they will go. I shall not complain.'

"Utterly unable to retort to so manly a speech, the dissatisfied burghers slunk away, ashamed and silent. The

report of the occurrence spread over all the town like wildfire. Every one repeated the noble speech of the dauntless magistrate, and faithful hearts were inspired with renewed courage on account of it. Carried away by their enthusiasm, many a burgher now proceeded to the ramparts, declaring that, while wielding the sword with his right hand, he would rather eat his left arm than surrender the town to the Spaniards.

"The historian that noted down the noble conduct of burgomaster Van der Werff, from the lips of the Leyden people of those days, was impelled to add: 'This is a beautiful lesson for all magistrates, especially in our time of tribulation, faithfully to live up to their oath to remain loyal and constant, and to meet and lead their burghers in such a manner that they will be willing to sacrifice their own lives, provided God be glorified, and the public cause be well served, by the same.'

"About the same time, six women, a man, and eight children, who could no longer bear their misery in the town, left the place in a boat. They had received permission of the magistrate to go to Warmond, and thought they would be safe in the company of a trumpeter. [This was a Spanish trumpeter who had been sent by the Spanish authorities for an answer to letters which, some time previously, had been dispatched to the Leyden magistrate, concerning the city's surrender.]

"The fugitives were mistaken. The inhuman soldiers at the Poelschans treated them even more cruelly than they had treated a party of refugees that had left the city in July. Despoiled of all their clothing, the poor refugees were then chased back to the city whose burghers, out of pity for their deplorable condition, again took them in.

V.

"And from Leyden's southern ramparts the people were ever looking with prayerful longing to see whether the water was not coming,—the saving water; for the appearance of which all were pining with parched souls. And behold,—when the Thursday of the twenty-third of September was dawning in the heavens,—did it not seem as if those skies over there, toward the southeast, were being reflected upon the fields between the Weypoort and the Rhine?

"And they gazed, and gazed again—although their eyes had sunk deep into their sockets. And it proved to be no optical deception: the water washed up against the house Te Swieten, the banks of the Weypoort Vliet were covered and had become invisible, and all the surrounding fields were inundated. It was plain, therefore, that, in this direction, a polder dyke had been cut, and the relief expedition was approaching. The news soon spread throughout the city, and in the midst of want and suffering the courage of thousands was heightened.

"If they could only render some assistance! But alas—the power of the eagle's wing had been broken, the strength of man had been sapped. Prior to this, posts that were guarded by ten men were now sometimes occupied by no more than three emaciated beings; some of them, who had to pass bridges on their way, were seen to take hold of the railing to support their faltering steps. And it often happened that men arriving at the walls, were seen to creep up against the slope, in order to reach the breastworks. Still, they did all they could. The following day two more brass pieces were added to the battery at the Hoogewoerds gate, to engage the garrisons of the House Te Brem and at

Lammen, and thus to occupy the enemy with skirmishes as soon as the relief fleet was sighted.

"But it ought to appear soon; for the distress grew worse every day. On the twenty-second fifty-one head of cattle had been killed, and, for the first time, horses to the number of twenty-two. To-day sixteen horses were butchered, but no cows, so that the little milk they yet gave could be utilized for the confined women.

"And now the tension among the people attained fever heat. Every day they expected to see sails appear on the horizon, bringing horns of abundance to be poured into the city's lap; but not even a single messenger arrived with news. The wind shifted to the northeast, and pushed the waves backward rather than forward, while from far and near the enemy's outposts were seen concentrating themselves. Valdez moved the southern army-corps nearer to the city, heightened and strengthened the dykes, and did what he could to be prepared to turn back both the waters and the Sea Beggars. It was at that time that an officer at the Spanish headquarters at Leyderdorp bragged to a young man sent thither from the city: 'It is just as possible for your prince to save the town as it is possible for us to reach the stars with our hands!'

"Still the gallant magistrates persevered. With the most sublime self-sacrifice also, they were supported by courageous men from among the people. The old court-messenger, Cornelis Ulrycks, had died, and his three sons had now taken upon themselves the care of their 'old aged mother.' The second one, Willem, a young man 32 years of age, was a lover of pigeons. He had saved eight of them,—great treasures in view of the pressing want, daily growing more acute. For no messengers arrived, and the waters that were to carry the fleet approached no nearer. The only

thing gaining undoubted headway, was the misery within the walls. And now the musician was requested by the city authorities to give up his precious birds to act as letter-carriers, as had been done at Haarlem. As he thought of his gray-haired mother, and his older and younger brother—hungry like himself—it was not at all unnatural that his soul was torn by conflicting emotions. But during the night of September 25th, when three messengers left the town, they carried the pigeons with them.

"The trip was successful, although it was rendered more difficult by the increased obstacles. With great dexterity these cunning, stooping, and, withal, noble-hearted fellows, stole through the Spanish lines, and, with their precious freight, safely reached the fleet on the Noord Aa.

"To his great disappointment Boisot had, since the twenty-third, been unable to make any headway. Little more than four miles distant lay the starving city, where the devoted burghers were fighting a battle fiercer than was ever waged with steel; from morning till night of each day it lasted, and did not abate even at night. But the wind blew from the northeast, and the waters receded from the land that ought to have been covered high with the waves, as a pathway for the fleet. They scarcely rose one foot high, and the ships demanded a depth of about two feet to reach the dyke,—the Church road—stretching out in front of them, and that had to be cut like the Green road and the Front road. It is true that two wide canals—the Zuidbuurt drain and the Weypoort Vliet—connected the little lake with Leyden. But near the first-named canal strongly-fortified Zoeterwoude was situated, the second canal, near its outlet into the Rhine, being dominated by the castle of Swieten. And although they might succeed in fighting their way through, there was still the strongly-fortified and occupied Leyderdorp, and

this constituted an insurmountable barrier, even without the five large galleys and other craft that Valdez had stationed there but had been unable to find crews for.

" Perhaps—they hoped—a deep ditch less known was somewhere near. Every day, amid wind and rain, they visited the watercourses near by, with small, armed vessels, to explore the country, plying the sounding rod in every unknown stream that they discovered. But this had no result other than to attract to those waterways detachments of Spanish troops, sometimes from the direction of Swieten, at other times from Zoeterwoude, who, often wading knee deep in the water, attacked the boats, and thus gave rise to diverting but usually bloodless skirmishes.

" Every day the galleys hurled from two hundred to three hundred balls against the densely-garrisoned Spanish positions on the dyke near Zoeterwoude. This caused damage enough to the enemy to induce him, for a more effective defense, to station a few field-pieces there. But the enemy's fire did little execution: not more than three or four sailors had been killed by it. For the rest, although the flags and streamers trembled in the wind, the sails had been furled, because they were useless, and the ships were swinging and rocking upon the tempestuous waves without being able to proceed. All hopes were prayerfully centered upon the 29th day of September, when there was to be a spring tide.

" If the Lord would only favor them then !

" This was the situation of the fleet when the messengers with their pigeons were conducted to the admiral's galley, where they were cordially welcomed by him. But the closer he questioned them, and the more they told him, the darker became his countenance. He was truly prepared to learn

of great distress, yet he trembled at the suffering depicted by the simple narrative of those wasted messengers.

"Bleak starvation was flapping its pale, bare wings over all the town, and its poisonous breath wrought sickness and death. A sack of wheat had been paid for with a hundred guilders; a pound of butter commanded fifteen stivers, an egg now cost two stivers, an apple or a pear one and a half stivers, a cabbage-stalk half a stiver. Several people had not tasted bread for seven weeks, nor drunk anything but water. Horsemeat was a delicacy of the rich. Gentlewomen had their pet dogs killed, and ate the flesh. The freebooters that were fortunate enough to kill a dog or a cat, had a banquet at the gate where they mounted guard,—they then could enjoy a bit of roast meat! A soup of chopped skin, boiled with carrots in water and milk, was deemed a dainty bit by lovers of good things. Whoever had a pear tree in his garden, could boast of another luxury; for the ingenuity of want taught them how to prepare 'several dishes' from its leaves. Acorns—probably stored away for the pigs—took the place of chestnuts. Fortunate was the family whose house and walls were covered with vines. The leaves, stewed in starch, and with a little salt, provided a pottage that at least satisfied the sharpest pangs of hunger. If it were impossible to procure leaves of any kind for vegetables, then grass was gathered. Chopped fine and mixed with horse-grease and salt, it looked, when simmering in the pan, palatable enough to hungry eyes.

"Beer, prepared of husks of oats, was yet brewed in sufficient quantities to be sold at no more than 'one penny a stein.' Whoever could not spare his penny for this purpose, had, in the depth of his distress, recourse to draff, and brewed his own beer, using wormwood and garden rue, instead of hops. In the absence of all this they mixed their

drinking water—never very agreeable at Leyden—with vinegar, as long as their supply held out.

" Sad scenes were depicted in the narrative. Women confined in child-birth had to be satisfied with a quarter of a biscuit for a whole day. The mother-milk left the parched breast ; little children were fed with the bowels of horses, and the larger ones crowded one another at the distribution of meat, watching with feverish eyes if a small piece were dropped by accident ; it was then swallowed raw.

" The eyes of the poor scanned closely the road. And if perchance the skin of a salted plaice or a rejected cabbage-leaf were discovered in the street, the fingers graspingly stretched out for it, and it was often hungrily devoured without taking the trouble to clean it. Poor women, faint with hunger, covered their faces for shame and went out to hunt and dig for bones, which, when found, were taken home, to be once more boiled for themselves and those depending upon them. Carrion became food ; blood of the slaughtered cattle, clotted in the gutter, served to still the pangs of hunger.

" As was natural, the mortality increased day by day. Sometimes at the dusk of evening a piercing cry of despair, a sobbing lament, suddenly issued from a house. In the morning the husband had tottered to his post, and in the evening had dragged himself home, only to find in the darkened rooms the corpses of wife and child, who had died of starvation or had succumbed to the pest.

" Grief and despair broke the heart of many a bereaved husband and father : Within a few successive days he had buried most of his family, who, but a short while before, had been full of health and happiness. The number of burials increased frightfully every day.

" And death did not even confine itself to the houses.

It began also to cut down its victims in the streets. Not only children were found whose bluish, emaciated features showed that they had died of starvation, but men succumbed at their posts; and from among the living, while conducting a corpse to its last restingplace, one would sometimes collapse—and the pall with which the dead had been covered, would soon conceal another corpse.

" Upon hearing of so terrible a misery the admiral's heart sank within him, and fear shook his brave soul. He felt the need of addressing the man to whom every eye was directed when distress was pressing or affairs went wrong. He wrote to the prince: ' If, with this spring tide, the Lord should fail to favor them with the wind, or to grant them means that he could not yet discern, he doubted whether, for the present, it would be possible to provide the city with food; he feared they would be too late. For in the city they had only just enough cattle now to make two distributions of meat, which would be barely sufficient to enable them to hold out a week longer. He had been informed by the messengers that the misery, the mortality, the sickness, and the discord in the city were already alarmingly prevalent.'

VI.

" On Monday the 27th of September, from the admiral's galley, soared skyward the pigeon, now to accomplish that which the messengers had failed to do the night before, namely, convey letters into Leyden.

" On the same day another letter was in preparation, also concerning the bold stand taken in defending Holland's popular rights. Don Luis De Requesens wrote from Antwerp to his sovereign, and requested his pleasure concerning

a scheme, broached by Valdez, to follow the example set by the Hollanders, but for their own destruction, and also to cut the dykes. Something was yet to be added. Considering the stubbornness of the rebels, and the heavy expenses of this war, he thought it would not be a bad plan to drown the lower villages, burn the higher ones, and, meantime, to become master at sea.

"Neither Valdez, nor Requesens, nor Philip—in this connection a peculiar kind of trinity—understood that a similar measure, however alluringly radical, would be of little avail so long as leaders like the prince, and cities like Leyden, were to be met with in Holland.

"True, the city was negotiating, and refugee farmers yet maintained that the prince had died on September 7th. But the people of Antwerp refused absolutely to believe this statement, and Requesens himself sagely judged that the insolent perseverance of the rebels proved the contrary. He might have found in it a solution of that which, a few days later, he was pleased to call a peculiar phenomenon with the people of Leyden. He then wrote to his master, who was justly wrought up about the siege: 'Si fuera del Turco el exército que está sobre ellos, se huvieran rendido muchos dias ha.' (If Turks were besieging them they would long since have surrendered.)

"Meanwhile, Leyden, distressed and uneasy, pinched and sorely pressed, was anxiously awaiting the reply of the relief-force. On the 27th of September twenty-four head of cattle and twenty-seven horses had been killed, but on the following day it was published: 'that the present distribution of two pounds of meat per head need to last only three days, instead of four, as was heretofore the case, and that, at the expiration of the said three days, one pound per head per day will be distributed, and all this for the purpose that the

faithful burghers of this city may feel the better satisfied, and be the more content in their distress.'

"On the evening of the next day the first pigeon returned to its côte, and Willem Cornelissen, who, with a wakeful eye, had watched his dove-house, immediately took the letter to the magistrates. The following day another of the winged messengers returned, and immediately the city-hall bell called the people together to listen to the good news that had just been received.

"With great expectation, the gaze of every one among the pale, emaciated multitude was riveted upon the window where public announcements were always made. At last it was opened. The crowd hustled each other in their eagerness to hear. And then they listened to the following:

"'My lords, the commissaries and the magistrates of this city, for the purpose of having surer means of receiving news from our friends concerning our relief, furnished the messengers who lately left the city with several pigeons, with the object of making use of them for the said purpose. Besides the one that returned yesterday, another has also come back, carrying with it letters from Admiral Boysot, written to-day, and stating that his excellence [the prince], for the purpose of being the better able to direct the efforts for our relief, also to demonstrate actively the love he entertains for us, and his desire to contribute to our relief, has, on yesterday, personally joined the fleet. He cordially greets us, entreating us to keep up our courage, not doubting but that, with the help of God, we shall be saved from our present misery and affliction. For which purpose the aforesaid commissaries and magistrates exhort each and every one (abandoning a previously sinful and godless life), to approach God, and without any presumption of merits, to pray ardently that His Divine Majesty be pleased to look down upon us

with eyes of commiseration, and to deliver us from the present siege and wretchedness, for His glory, the exaltation of His name, and the salvation of us all. And whereas the aforesaid commissaries and magistrates have been informed that some burghers and inhabitants of this city, and also soldiers or freebooters, have been in the habit of shooting at pigeons, on account of which some of the letter-carriers or messengers might be shot, and on account of which the letters might not reach us, which would be detrimental and conducive to great evil, yea, to the absolute ruin of this city: therefore the above commissaries and magistrates have forbidden and are forbidding by the present every one—none excepted—to shoot at any pigeons, under penalty of being, without mercy, hung to a rope, after having received corporal chastisement.

"'Let every one spread the contents of this publication.'

"The prince is on the fleet! If any part of the publication was generally circulated it was this. For, if human hand were able to push the means of relief, it was certainly his!

"An equal confidence had manifested itself among the crews. The forced inactivity, amidst rain and wind, had caused the warlike Zeelanders—crowded in their vessels, mostly open, and, in their impetuous zeal, not taking into account the circumstances—to grumble and find fault with everything. Every man among them was ready to drive away whatever enemy was before Leyden, and to carry bread to the starving within those walls. Why then did the commanders linger? They *must* find the means to surmount the obstacles: for this they were the chiefs, to whom the leadership had been entrusted!

"And those chiefs themselves had no more ardent desire, no more passionate wish, than to proceed immediately with the expedition—if it were only possible!

"Among these warring opinions one conviction was shared by all—'If the prince would only arrive!'

"Boisot's letter to him could have but one result,—and that was most urgently to press the prince to visit the fleet, but the state of his health forced him to be very careful, and the weather was rough.

"On September 28th, the yellow rays of the autumn sun again unexpectedly brightened the aspect of Delft's streets, and then the man of self-sacrifice, though far from having attained his former vigor, hesitated no longer. He embarked for the fleet.

"And now the rejoicing was general. The guns roared their salutes; trumpets sounded the 'Wilhelmus' as a welcome—but louder than all resounded the cheers of the crews as William appeared before them: he was the man that doubtless would put a stop to their unbearable state of inactivity!

"The prince examined everything thoroughly, conversed with officers and privates, had words of encouragement for every one, and expressed his great satisfaction at the discipline prevalent on the fleet. He deemed it necessary to reconnoitre more closely the enemy's fortifications and the conditions of the roads. For this purpose some officers were easily found. Captain Oultran went in one direction, Vice-admiral Claessen and De Moor took the other. When—upon their return—they had submitted their report, the prince conferred with the chiefs and nobles about the best and least risky means of cutting the dyke, called the Stompwyk road. The undertaking was hazardous; for the road was strongly occupied. Yet the intent was discussed, considered, and resolved upon. With two galleys, three smaller vessels, two hundred arquebusiers, besides a sufficient number of pioneers, provided with gabions and other neces-

saries, Boisot was to undertake the effort at night time, and to try safely to intrench himself there before break of day. Should the unfavorable wind continue, and the shallow water render it impossible to sail through, a serious effort was to be made during the darkness of night to smuggle thirty or forty supply ships into the city. For this most difficult task,—deemed impossible by many,—the gallant Captain Grenu had volunteered.

"After these and other preparations,—among them, providing themselves with caltrops to distribute on the roads where the enemy was most numerous,—the prince returned to Delft amid the loud cheers of the entire fleet, whose courage and confidence had again been strengthened and who had received new life through his inspiring presence.

"At nightfall the expedition to the Stompwyk road began in the order suggested. But they could not reach their goal: in vain they explored ditches and canals; the looked-for passage was not found, and toward morning the ships returned to their anchorage in the Noord Aa.

"But it was impossible to remain inactive any longer. Those steeples, appearing on the northern horizon, seemed like so many signals of distress praying for help. Where a spire was visible, it conveyed the thought of misery, which had found an abode below it, of the terrible suffering endured there,—and, therefore, the possibility of surrender as the fearful reward of so great a sacrifice.

"Advance they must—but how?

"Again they held a council of war. Between Zoeterwoude and the castle of Swieten lay a road; back of it, it was said, there streamed a deeper water, and where the passage to the city would not encounter a single obstruction. But the road and the canal running parallel were strongly guarded by boats on the water and by soldiers on the land;

nor was there any lack of heavy artillery! It was to be feared that among the soldiers and the pioneers, not to mention the sailors, heavy losses would be experienced, because the fire of the galleys, at the landing of the expedition, could not be made very effective. Besides, a canal would have to be dug first to gain an entrance.

"But those steeples over yonder were signals of distress! Resistance was likely to come to an end at any time! If after waiting for more water the expedition should at last reach the walls and behold the Spanish banners floating from their towers! . . .

"To work, then: nothing shall be left undone!

"And, meanwhile, the sky has become overcast. The lovely rays of the autumnal sun, which spread so joyful a light over the fleet at the time of the prince's arrival, have disappeared. The sheet of water, so quiet and blue yesterday, has become turbulent to-day, and assumes a grayish hue beneath the moving skies, where black clouds gather and drift. The wind, having shifted to the northwest, increases, gains in strength and velocity, and pushes the waves of the North Sea up against the outflowing waters of the River Maas. Increased in volume and force by the spring tide, the waves now hurl themselves with redoubled fury through the open sluices and cuts in the dikes. Like a foaming avalanche of waters, they penetrate into the polders below.

VII.

"Yet Leyden still persisted, notwithstanding its pinching misery; notwithstanding the treason that informed the enemy that the guard near the Hoogewoerd gate was almost abandoned. The Spanish had actually tried to surprise the post in the dead of night; but when a few musket-shots from

the wall showed them that the traitor seemed to have misinformed them, they hastily retreated under cover of darkness.

"The sadness of the people in the city, however, again was somewhat alleviated; dejection made way for encouragement, through powerful voices whose strong echoes reverberated in the air from the distant south. Early in the evening of Wednesday the 29th September, the report of the firing of heavy pieces became distinctly audible in the city, and the sound of this rolling thunder proceeded from the direction of Zoeterwoude. Darkness fell, and the sorrowful appearance of the streets was, for the great part, lost in the blackness of night; but even long after midnight a brilliant ray of hope illumined many a dejected heart. About one o'clock the sound of an alarm-bell suddenly disturbed the temporary quiet, and it proceeded so plainly from the direction of Zoeterwoude, that no more doubt existed that the relief-force had advanced to that point, and that the enemy was calling together his regiments to resist the onward course.

"In a different mood from even the last time, on the following morning they again killed a number of animals. Fifty-two head of cattle, besides twenty-seven horses, were slaughtered, and, according to the number of inhabitants, their meat and skins were distributed by the pound.

"The following day—October first—nevertheless, was Leyden's Good Friday. Just three weeks before, the fleet had begun its weary task of traversing the short distance between Rotterdam and Leyden. And, notwithstanding the blessed assistance of the spring tide, there had never yet been enough water to sail on. And now—whoever looks up to the weather cocks and the vanes, floating on the wind, perceives that from the southwest a strong breath of wind is blowing, which is bound to force the voluminous water into the plains of Leyden.

"'Nine inches at the highest,' had been the complaint of the sounders on the fleet. 'Twenty-eight inches! More than two feet!' they now shouted in the swinging boat.

"All were now full of a hopeful courage. Eyes flashed, cheeks glowed, hands trembled in their eagerness to go to work.

"The admiral signaled the captains and officers to his ship. Here they discussed, weighed, and resolved upon the course to be followed. Considering the steadily increasing flood,—continuously streaming with foaming crests toward the Church road,—it was resolved to set course for said point about the hour of midnight. The little boats of the Spanish guards, stationed there, rose higher and higher, and the summit of the dyke was covered in spots with the foam of the ever-increasing waters.

"Everything was made ready, and, in the meantime, Boisot wrote to the people of Leyden, 'that on Friday night, from the city, the trenches of Lammen were to be attacked with prames and ships.' The fleet 'would attack the same from the opposite direction with so great violence that they doubted not but what, with the Lord's help they would gain and conquer the same.' A little later the winged messenger, with the letter fastened about its neck, ascended from the flagship, and soon disappeared in the direction of Leyden.

"In this manner the admiral had most effectively encouraged the besieged, and at the same time assured himself of their coöperation.

"While the pigeon was now speeding on her errand, the preparations on the fleet were vigorously completed. The food supplies, loaded in about a hundred vessels, were provisionally to be left behind on the little lake, guarded by eight or ten galleys, under the command of Asseliers,

with three companies of soldiers, besides the heavy ordnance.

"About eleven o'clock the roar of artillery resounded over the waves of the Noord Aa in a westerly direction, and, raising a false alarm, it lured the Spaniards to the Stompwyk road. Meanwhile, the majority of the armed vessels began to move and to hoist sail, for the purpose of attacking the Church road.

"Like a gigantic stormbird, with outspread wings, the fleet cut through the waters, under cover of the darkness of a cloudy sky. The body was formed by twenty ships, commanded by La Garde, and manned by the necessary crews, having on board two hundred pioneers, well-provided with gabions, faggots, sods, and what was further needed in their work. The right wing, extending in the direction of Swieten, was commanded by Claesen. The left wing, about a musket-shot distant from the right, was led by the admiral himself. From this side toward the northern horizon a number of lights, glimmering in the darkness, rendered visible the situation of strongly-fortified Zoeterwoude.

"The sails rattled, the oars splashed in the waves, but the wind, also, was blowing from the densely-packed clouds, and this was the reason why the Spanish guards, more than forty strong, stationed in boats in front of the Church road, did not immediately perceive their assailants. Soon, however, at a somewhat wide distance, their 'Who there! Who there!' could be heard . . . . but only within musket-shot range of the position did Boisot's heavy artillery and small fire thunder the answer to the challenges; while the loud and prolonged cheers of the Zeelanders informed the enemy that they and their admiral had arrived at last.

"Without any definite aim, the guards now discharged their arquebuses, and, thereupon, quickly sought a safe

refuge on the shore, whence they spread the alarm far and near. La Garde, as bold as he was impetuous, having been conducted in a little two-oared boat to the front, did not permit one moment to be lost. He was the first to set foot upon the Church road, immediately followed by many others. Meantime, the pioneers had, as expeditiously, taken their gabions and other necessaries on the dyke.

"If the moon—now almost full—had at times been able to peep through the quickly-moving clouds, she would have seen, about midnight, a busy scene of great activity on the marshy dyke, which, in some spots, was already covered with a foot and a half of water. The Spaniards had begun to erect here a continuous obstruction of beams and cross-beams, which now had to be partly removed. Other pioneers, again, worked hard with shovel and spade, to throw up intrenchments speedily on two sides. Boisot himself left his galley and came on shore for the purpose of speeding on the work.

"Meanwhile, at Swieten and at Zoeterwoude every one had become active, and from both localities the enemy hastened to the attack. Both of the enemy's divisions received such a warm reception from the arquebusiers,—commanded by the gallant French officers,—actively assisted by the fire of the fleet—that soon his lighted fuses, like a swarm of fire-flies, disappeared in the darkness of the stormy night. The French pursued the fugitives some little distance, and, upon their return, dropped their caltrops on the pathway they had just succeeded in clearing,—for the present, at least. The cannon of the fleet roared throughout the night, and wherever a gleam of light or a spark of fire bespoke the possible presence of Spaniards, thither showers of balls and bullets found their way; yet only once in a great while, and then but very feebly, was the firing replied to by the enemy

" The intrenchments on both sides of the selected spot were now speedily completed. The cutting of three wide gaps in the dyke between the intrenchments did not require any great effort ; for the laborers already stood nearly knee-deep in the water so that their digging of an additional foot of depth would provide a pathway for all the ships comprising the fleet. And at the break of day the waters, rushing from a southwesterly direction, coursed with a powerful current through the wide gap in the dyke, and the duckweed of the ditches soon was floating like green and brown fleece over the fields of the Westbrook polder, now fast disappearing below the waves.

" The lights that had been lighted in the houses at Zoeterwoude during the alarm, had now been extinguished. A man had departed from there in a dejected and disheartened mood, as witnessed by the farmer that had been forced to extend hospitality to him. This man was Don Francisco De Valdez, who, perceiving that his reign before Leyden was approaching its close, had, with a sorrowing heart, sought refuge at Leyderdorp, thence to issue orders for the absolute withdrawal of his Majesty's forces.

" Boisot, even then, had already despatched some galleys to the Noord Aa, for the purpose of leading the supply ships, which had been left behind. Asseliers immediately ordered them to hoist sail, while he himself, with the warships, remained at his post. The supply ships succeeded in reaching the appointed place, after the insignificant loss of half a dozen men and two barges, which had strayed from the main body in the direction of Zoeterwoude, and, with great show of daring, had been surprised by the Spaniards. After the arrival of the supply ships, the morning of October 2d was lighting up the waters of the inundated fields, when

the fleet, with sails unfurled and busy oars a-splashing, now moved into the submerged Westbrook polder.

" Soon the Church road—the last obstruction in the advance, according to persons familiar with the locality—had been passed, and every one's spirit was heightened by the happy prospect of assured relief to starving Leyden. The Kennemer freebooters even deemed further assistance on their part unnecessary. Cleynsorgh and his band returned and went to spread the happy news in the Northern Quarter ' that he has assisted in carrying some intrenchments before Leyden, and that a very large relief-force is assembled there.'

VIII.

" And from the walls of starving Leyden, that stormy morning, anxious multitudes were scanning the southern horizon, still shivering and trembling with an ever-recurring fear, but yet, however weak and miserable they might feel, no longer filled with despair. True, over yonder, near the Zylbridge and farther down the road to Leyderdorp, the enemy was busily engaged in digging and conveying hay and gabions. In the neighborhood of the intrenchments at Lammen, a similar labor was being performed. But even so, the rolling peals of the thunder of war had not subsided during the night. Flames had been seen leaping up at Zoeterwoude —and the columns of smoke were yet ascending—a positive sign that the Spanish fortifications surrounding the church were on fire. And now there became visible a swarm of sails from a direction pointing toward the Meerburg watercourse. Thus far, already, the relief expedition had fought its way through !

" Joy began to reign upon the walls, and to spread throughout the city. It was impossible to keep back any longer the

boys and the women, who crept up against the slopes to assure themselves, by looking over the breastworks, of the truth of the happy news ! Oh, to gain strength from a look at those sails, through which the wind was blowing bread to the city !

" Even now the hour of triumph had already come for those steadfast patriots, whose stubborn courage had forced the defense ! Not only for a Van de Werff, a Jacob and Johan Van der Does, a Jan Van Hout, but also for more obscure burghers like one Willem Aelbrechts Berkhey, who, having caught a small fish from the moat had, from his post on the wall, shown it to the enemy, spread upon a piece of bread, as if there yet reigned abundance in the city. Also for many others who, at the top of their voices, called to the mocking enemy that, if their distress became unbearable, they would rather set fire to the city than again become slaves of Spain, and suffer violence to body and conscience !

" And now the city-hall bell sounded. The pigeon, freed by Boisot on Friday, but probably frightened by the firing, and having lost its bearings, had returned to-day to its nest, and faithful Cornelissen had made haste to put the authorities in possession of the important news.

" On account hereof a decree from the city hall, ordering ' all women, young boys, and other persons not able to carry arms to quit the walls,' and, further, that ' no men were to appear at the walls without being properly armed.' The same decree also contained the command that those that had been on guard during the night before should immediately report again for duty, and that every burgher, as soon as the alarm bell should be rung, should proceed to his rendezvous, properly armed, and under no pretext whatever was he to leave it. At the same time, preparations were made for necessary room in the city-moats for the supply ships, and

it was consequently decreed 'to remove immediately all ships, lighters, or barges lying in the Vliet, from the Vlietgat to the Jeroensbridge, or in the Rhine between the Watergat from the Hoochwoertsgate and the Gansoortsbridge,' under penalty of having them confiscated should they be found there even but one hour after the publication of the decree.

"As fast as their emaciated frames would permit, the men went to work. The pale cheeks again became suffused with color, and sunken eyes once more brightened; for, like an electric spark of encouragement, the news had strengthened their souls. The thunder of the prince's cannon was also fast coming nearer, and in the afternoon 'a formidable body' of Spanish troops was seen hastening along the Zoeterwoude road, and throwing themselves into the ruins of the castle of Cronesteyn on the Roomburg watercourse, not far from Lammen. With every moment, the sails of the approaching fleet now became more distinct from behind the dark clouds of powder-smoke that preceded them.

"The redoubt at Lammen also began to belch forth its fire, as if Captain Borgia, who occupied this stronghold with three hundred men, wanted to demonstrate sharply the fact that Leyden had not yet been relieved. The besieged, however, as if signaling the admiral a reply to his letter, carried flags upon the wall—yea, full of joy they clambered up against the laths of the mill-arms, and fastened their bunting to the highest point, that it might be distinctly seen on the fleet.

"The latter, notwithstanding the encountering of many difficulties, had reached its present position. Boisot, impelled by his earnest conviction of the necessity for haste, had entered the Westbrook polder much too early. But he soon discovered his mistake in expecting that the polder would contain at least three feet of water for his ships to

sail in. Before long the crews of the galleys, as the largest vessels, experienced all the difficulties of shallow water, and stuck fast here and there. The advance seemed, at first, not only to be threatened with delay, but with suspension, notwithstanding the favorable wind blowing across the surface of the water and into the sails. But the Zeeland sailors, no less than their leaders, burned with impatience to relieve the city, and to inflict upon the Spaniards the disgrace of an absolute retreat; they could no longer bear the idea of delay. Without taking anything into consideration, they jumped into the turbid waters, and with their brawny hands took hold of the galling, jolting vessels to force them across the shallows. They tugged and pulled, and dragged and pushed, counting neither sweat nor fatigue. And when a galley remained immovable they put their broad shoulders beneath the keel, and, plunging through the water, panting with their strenuous toil and vigorous exertion, they succeeded in moving all the galleys across the shallows, even that of the admiral.

"In little more than an hour all the obstacles had been surmounted, and the entire fleet subsequently united in the deep kil of the Meerburg watercourse, hardly a mile distant from Leyden.

"There the city lay. They could see the walls extend from east to west. The heavy masonry of the two cathedrals rose high above everything; the church steeples were easily discernible: to the right, the steeple of St. Pancras, to the left the Saint Peter. The windmills on the walls were also plainly visible—but it was seen, at the same time, that, notwithstanding the strong breeze, they did not work.

"Ponderous brushes which, with one single stroke, pictured a scene of horrible woe!

"On! On! . . . if only it be not too late!

"Strongly-fortified Zoeterwoude now lay powerless in the

rear. On account hereof strongly-fortified Leyderdorp had become useless to the enemy. It would be very difficult—yea, actually impossible, if the Spaniards were to make a sudden attack in force—in this watercourse to protect the ships, scattered confusedly in the canal. But from this emergency an immediate relief was found. A little toward the southwest, a broad plash, the Papenmeir, extended where it would be easy to insure safety by restoring order. Thither they now steered; and, while proceeding on their way, they fired a few houses, the flames of which, leaping high into the air, informed the enemy of the steadily-onward course of the redoubtable Beggars—and spread consternation among the ranks of the Spaniards. La Garde, leading the van in a little boat, saw them jump out on every side of the several vessels, stationed there to contest the advance of the prince's forces. It was often laughable to see how the soldiers, in considerable numbers, were stumbling through the marshy fens, and were caught and captured by two or three unarmed sailors, who were following in little skiffs.

"At Zoeterwoude, the Spaniards were far from feeling at ease. The village was connected with Lammen by a road—the Women's road—with a bridge across the Meerburg watercourse, near where it empties into the Papenmeir. A number of Spanish officers, entirely enveloped by their great-coats, on account of the rough wind, had taken up a position, with two large vessels, near the Women's bridge. On board the fleet it was, at first, impossible to decide whether the Spaniards were there for reconnoitering purposes or with a force large enough to contest the progress. This uncertainty, however, did not last long. La Garde did not delay the advance, and when the Spanish lords saw those Beggar oars thus boldly moving in their direction, they quickly made for the shore and took the road to Voorscho-

ten, while some of their soldiers that were near by hurriedly followed the example of their officers.

"They soon had reasons to feel sorry for having stayed too long!

"The impetuous La Garde now regretted not having provided himself with a larger vessel and a dozen arquebusiers; and immediately informed the admiral of what was happening at the Women's bridge. Boisot immediately arrived with some of his armed vessels; and he did not come too late. The road taken by the fugitives was on the same level with the drowned lands. They floundered through mire and mud, and, notwithstanding the fact that the morning sun provided them with sufficient light, they did not make much headway on their slippery path. For the sake of facilitating the passage of the ships, Boisot immediately destroyed the bridge, whereupon a few of the galleys sailed after the fleeing enemy, opening fire on them with cannon and musketry.

"A bloody chase soon followed. The entire garrison of Zoeterwoude, under Colonel Alonzo Lopez Gallo, had retreated. From the movement of the fleet in the direction of the Papenmeir, they feared that the Beggars were bent upon surrounding them in the midst of the rising waters, that 'sea, their most cruel enemy, who fought for the rebels.' From Zoeterwoude there lay a road—the Hofroad—to Voorschoten, but also with a bridge—the Hofbridge—across the watercourse, in the immediate vicinity of the Papenmeir. Along this path the dense columns of the hastily-retreating garrison sought to escape, when the galleys rushed into the wide plash, and mixed the smoke of their artillery with the white foam flying high in front of their bows. At first a battle seemed imminent. One of Captain Borgia's sergeants, Pierre Chacon, took up a position with his soldiers near the bridge,

and gallantly opened fire on his assailants. But it did not last long. A fearful confusion ensued among the fleeing ranks, where every man struggled to get ahead of the rest, and escape the deadly fire of the Beggars. Whoever slipped and fell need not hope to rise again. No one cared about another; every one thought only of his own safety. Numbers of soldiers left the road, and sought safety on the submerged lands on the opposite side. But this only made matters worse for them. The sailors, in the small boats, had, in an incredibly short time, passed below the bridge, and entered upon the drowned lands. With hooks and harpoons the merciless Zeelanders attacked the fugitives, dragged them into the boats, and killed them. Some of the Beggars, soldiers as well as sailors, jumped overboard, pursued the enemy through the dashing waves, and killed them with dirk or knife. The shouts and cries, mingled with the cracking of the arquebuses and the roar of the cannon, served only to excite the pursuers to greater activity.

"In wild confusion the fugitives struggled through the water, which was rising above their knees, and many a one among them unexpectedly waded into a deep ditch and was drowned. The bold Chacon escaped death in an almost miraculous manner. Dragged by four hooks into a boat, and thought to be dead, he suddenly rose up, while the Beggars were harpooning for others, attacked his enemies with the halberd that had never left his hand, and killed three of them. The rest, in a panic of fright, jumped overboard, and Chacon triumphantly conducted the grain-laden boat to the Hague.

"It was reckoned that about eighty Spaniards had been killed. The remainder were so fortunate as to reach the sconce that had been thrown up at the northern extremity of the road on the Vliet, near the farm of one Jaep Claesen.

Two or three pieces of artillery still made some noise from there, causing much smoke, but doing no damage.

"In the meanwhile, a portion of the fugitives from the Hofbridge had made a detour around Zoeterwoude, and, dragging some cannon behind them, had sought refuge on the Stompwyk road. So long as they kept out of sight of Asseliers they remained safe; but as soon as the latter perceived the bustle on the dyke, he opened such a destructive fire against it from his heavy artillery, that the confusion became fully as great there as on the Hofroad. The artillery was abandoned, and the small arms were thrown away by the fugitives, the better to use their feet. Hither and thither, if only out of range of the fire of the Beggars, the deplorable hirelings of the 'Divine Right' were plunging across the marshy fields, cursing the day on which they had taken service under the Spanish banners to struggle in Holland's marshy polders against the elements. Here, also, many a ditch, after some days, gave up several dead bodies, whose uniforms showed them to have been Spanish soldiers.

"Thus the Beggar victory was complete, and some cannon, besides vessels, laden with wine and provisions, were taken to the fleet as trophies. Boisot then ordered his entire fleet —the supply ships all pushing and crowding one another in the water-course—to unite in the roomy Papenmeir. The admiral had been encouraged and elated not only by the triumph of the prince's arms, but even more so by the flags he now saw signaling from the mills: 'Leyden still holds out!'

"There now existed only one more impediment,—the redoubt of Lammen, which the relief-force thought stronger than it really was. With its solid wall of palisades, in the five-feet wide and exceedingly-deep moat, its high ramparts, its many gabions for breastworks, between which the can-

nons' mouths were threatening, and which, to-day, by only two discharges, had killed seven men on the approaching fleet,—this stronghold caused much anxiety to the intrepid Beggars. They could attack it from one side only, that is, from the canal skirting the Women's road; for the high ground here was not covered by even one foot of water. Therefore—possibly on account of anxious Leyden—ever since ten o'clock a perfectly useless fire had been directed against the fortress. In the meantime, the admiral convoked a council of war, after having dispatched a vessel to the Noord Aa, to summon Asseliers to join the fleet. His officers agreed with him that, in the present condition of affairs, an attack upon the redoubt, however difficult, ought not to be delayed: Leyden's extremity and their own honor did not permit them to act otherwise. Toward evening, after some obstructing palisades had been removed, and the watercourse made easier of approach, the master of the ordnance, accompanied by captains Grenu and Henry, went on a scouting tour. They returned with the intelligence that, although 'with great danger and much difficulty,' it would yet be possible to station at the end of the canal a couple of great guns. Though fully aware of the difficulty of making a breach from a rocking vessel, and of the ease with which, even then, the enemy with only a little perseverance could beat back a small handful of stormers, yet Boisot resolved to undertake the almost-hopeless task early the following morning.

"With this object in view, he gave orders, and then repaired to his cabin to report to the prince, who, since the arrival of the fleet on the Noord Aa, had not been informed of the condition of affairs. He wrote 'that he intended, on the following day, to bombard Lammen, but in case he should not succeed, they must have patience until the water rose

higher, so as to be able to pass the redoubt across the flat country.'

"Midnight was near when the messenger took ship for Delft with Boisot's dispatches. His trip was uneventful. The storm had subsided, and the wind was dying away. The night was calm and quiet.

"Yet it was destined to be a memorable one, in which great things were to happen.

IX.

"The dawn of day, on Sunday the 3rd of October, found every one active on the fleet, as well as in the city, both of which were filled with care and anxiety. Here, on the waters, they made ready for the attack; there, within the walls, they were arming for a sortie.

"An exchange of signals, however, could not take place, and on both sides action was delayed by the same unexpected obstacle: a dense fog enveloped the fields, and veiled every object behind a whitish gray mist.

"The people of Leyden, meanwhile, conceived the idea that this fog even might be rendered useful to them. After Van der Laen and his crews had manned the galleys, to be ready at any time to sally forth into the Vlietgat, the city carpenter, Gerrit Thomassen, and a few gallant men,—brave skeletons would be a more appropriate appellation,—had been secretly sent out under cover of the fog with a couple of milkboats into the Vliet, to remove the piles that the Spaniards had driven in. They had, besides, a fresh and a pressing incentive to act. Dirck Ottens, the gate-keeper at the Cow gate, told every one willing to listen to him, that the night before he had been scared and startled on account of a terrible commotion: that a large part of the wall from his gate to the Burgundian bastion had caved in. It was unnec-

essary for any of the guards to confirm this tale. Every one could, with his own eyes, convince himself of the fact that, if the Spaniard should storm, he would find a sixteen-feet-wide breach to assist him.

"Meanwhile, the morning breeze began to disperse the clouds of mist. A little after six o'clock the sun had risen hardly above the horizon when its rays broke so brilliantly through the vanishing vapors that it seemed as if they knew that they were lighting up Leyden's Easter—the day of Leyden's resurrection.

"And both the people of the city and the men of the fleet, with increased happiness, now began gradually to distinguish one another.

"But the eyes of both, with equal astonishment and with the same distrust, were turned toward the only obstacle that yet separated them—the sconce at Lammen.

"There it lay, lifeless. The flag had been hauled down; no more cannons threatened between the several gabions; no sparkling of the morning rays was visible on any musket, any pike-point, or helmet. The redoubt seemed asleep, like a deserted military camp in the midst of its wide moats.

"But it was a ruse?

"So they thought on the fleet; so they thought on the walls; and on both sides they began to devise what new measures would have to be taken.

"Then, on the wall, a twelve-year old boy, Cornelis Joppens, began to play a part. During the night he had been scanning the surrounding country from the breastworks, and had perceived that a swarm of sparks had left Lammen without returning: they could only have been the fuses of the retreating soldiers. For two three-guilder pieces—thus spoke the little speculator—he was willing to undertake the hazardous visit to the mysterious walls of clay.

"Agreed!

"He was ferried in a little boat across the moat. And thither, anxiously followed by every eye—by every heart—he went. He took the road along the Vliet, and at last disappeared behind the western bastion of the sconce.

"And behold—a few minutes later his small body is visible again on the northern wall, and he swings his hat, as if calling out, 'Hurrah, hurrah! Leyden has been relieved!'

"But that was impossible! It was too good to be true! The hidden Spaniards had forced him to give that incredible signal for the purpose of deceiving both the city and the fleet, and to entrap the latter first! Could it be possible for God to work a miracle in behalf of the wretched people of Leyden?

"The last doubt was not even strong enough to maintain itself long. The freebooter Gysbrecht Cornelissen Schaeck, and two or three more of Van der Laen's men, having no patience to wait for further developments, shouldered their arms, and speedily followed the boy. One of them, seeing two of the galleys belonging to the fleet so near, waded toward them, past the sconce, up to his knees in the water. The remaining freebooters, on the other hand, entered the redoubt which Schaeck soon left, carrying a metal pot full of boiled stew (hutspot). Van der Laen and his freebooters, meanwhile, had sailed from the city-waters, and near Lammen saluted the admiral's first galleys.

"It seemed as if a thrill of joy had suddenly electrified the atmosphere, and inspired every living soul.

"The avenues to the city were free! The prayed-for relief had become a reality.

"Yea, verily—in behalf of the wretched people of Leyden God had wrought a miracle!

"What little Joppens had seen during the night had been

nothing more than the execution of the general's commands. Valdez, convinced that the positions of the besiegers had become untenable, had sent orders to Captain Borgia, whom he could no longer support from Leyderdorp, to evacuate the redoubt.

" Boisot and his crews were filled with joy. No struggle had ever been crowned with greater triumph! Unobstructed, unhindered, the fleet now sailed onward, protected in the rear by Vice-Admiral Willems. Supply ship upon supply ship, loaded with food for the famished, followed the advancing galleys, and about eight o'clock the fleet and supply ships passed through the Vlietgat, thus arriving at last within Leyden's starving gates.

" There a scene was enacted that brought tears to even the bronzed and hardened cheeks of the Zeeland Beggars. The banks of the canal were covered with a numerous multitude, looking pale and emaciated, but now with almost unnatural fire lighting up their burning eyes; and, panting with desire, they stretched out their trembling hands for food, which, in full cargoes, was now depositing, one could say, at their very feet. Mothers raised on high their weeping children, whose misery was depicted on their wan, little faces,—the most impressive prayer for assistance. There was no time for systematic distribution. Those rough sailors, touched to their innermost soul, dug with both hands into baskets and casks, and threw bread and cheese and herring among the multitude,—a rain of manna in the desert. With sobs and tears, shouts and cheers, with all manner of manifestations, the starving caught hold of the food. They struggled and fought for that which fell to the ground. Old as well as young who could no longer remain on the bank, had thrown themselves into the canal, and, wading or swimming, had gone on to meet the approaching ves-

sels. Amid shouts of joy, children sped homeward to their parents, sick with privation; sobbing men hurried to their homes, able, at last, to provide plentiful food for their wives and children. With bread and cheese and herring in the uplifted hands, like trophies of victory, the people joyously shouted along the streets: 'Leyden is safe: Leyden has been relieved! The Lord be praised for ever!' There was pushing and crowding, but a feeling of luxury and happiness, exquisite and inexpressible, pervaded all.

"This change, brought about in a few hours, had, like a magic wand, altered the aspect of everything. The newly-introduced comedy, for the moment, almost entirely supplanted the impression of the terrible tragedy scarcely ended.

"But not long; for the consequences of the misery they had lately passed through soon began to be manifest; some, seduced to greediness on account of cruel starvation, and eating too heartily of the bread or the herring, immediately experienced the fearful consequences of their excusable intemperance, and suddenly expired with food between their teeth, while many others afterward paid for it with their lives.

"The authorities resorted to speedy measures. By their orders, the supplies were conveyed to the St. Jacobs Hospital, and there stored and distributed, 'namely, for each person half a loaf, a piece of cheese, and one salted herring.'

"But Sunday, although Leyden's Easter—feast of its resurrection—could not be passed with songs of praise and prayers of thanksgivings only. The enemy's headquarters had been cut off, and this favorable opportunity to take them must be utilized. Therefore, from the church to the enemy!

"But that enemy had already forestalled them; the bold hunters found the beast of prey's lair empty. The fear—far from unfounded—for the watermen had taken a permanent hold of Valdez, and long before the Beggar trumpet sounded the 'Wilhelmus' at the passage of the Vlietgat, he had sounded the retreat. After embarking his artillery, besides his ammunition and his provisions, Valdez sent part of his troops to Ryswyck, and part to the Hague. He himself entered a small boat, and, not without great danger, had reached dry soil, and also taken the road to the Hague. His retreat had cost him thirty men, besides four pieces of artillery. From the moat of the redoubt at Lammen, this same day, the people of Leyden fished up a Spanish cannon, partly sunk in the mire, the trophy having not a small share in strengthening their religious conception of the city's relief being a miracle. According to an inscription, this piece bore the name of 'Libertas.' To them this became a mysterious symbol, as if some Old Testament apparition had risen with it from the waters, shouting across the plains: 'The freedom for which you struggled—behold, you have gained it, and may this be your symbol!'

"A wholly different spirit dominated the late besiegers. Surprise and consternation had gained the mastery over all, and they dispersed in all directions, not without undue precipitation. Three galleys from Amsterdam, stationed in the Zyl—from which the city had been bombarded several times—now learning of the arrival of the Beggars, hastily fled. Their example was followed by the soldiers in the neighborhood, and from points even as far distant as the redoubts at Oude Wetering and the Kaag. A small advance-guard of Beggars, marching in a northerly direction —twelve in number, it was said—chased away two companies of Spaniards. By droves they moved and fled,

camp-followers and sutlers in the van. Twenty or thirty of those people had reached Amsterdam as early as nine o'clock on Monday morning 'wet and dirty,' not a little complaining of their sad fate, while they publicly declared 'that the entire Spanish army had moved away and been dispersed, and that they themselves had abandoned their vessels and merchandise, barely escaping with their lives!' Others added that 'they were followed by the entire Spanish army!' Wounded Spanish soldiers, seeking refuge within Muyden or Utrecht, exclaimed disconsolately: 'Everything is lost! Everything is lost!' From Muyden a rumor circulated throughout North Holland that 'the enemy had abandoned all their artillery and munitions of war, yea, most of the soldiers their arms, many having perished or been slain.'

"With the boastfulness of a true-born Hidalgo, the defeated general notified the Leyden people and their saviors that his defeat in reality was no defeat at all. He purposely left the handsome map of Beeldsnyder, now useless to him, on the wall of the quarters he had just left, and wrote below it in unelegant Latin: 'Vale Civitas; valete Castelli parvi; relicti estis propter aquam, et non per vim inimicorum.' (Farewell, oh, city! Farewell, oh, surrounding strongholds. You have been evacuated for the sake of the waters, not on account of the enemy's prowess!)

"The loss of the enemy, who had invested Leyden with about ten thousand men, was, according to their own computation, estimated at one thousand. The fleet, whose total crews amounted to about two thousand five hundred, had not lost forty.

"The evacuated intrenchments were now either immediately occupied or demolished. At Ter Wadding, which was in uninterrupted communication with more elevated soil,

directly with Voorschoten and Wassenaar, the Spanish colors still floated until the twenty-ninth of November, when, after a general mutiny of the Spanish troops, they left their garrisons and repaired to Amsterdam. The redoubt thereupon was immediately leveled to the ground by the people of Leyden.

"And now the city of Leyden could rightfully boast of having furnished the keystone to the foundation whereupon Netherland's liberty has been built.

"Brielle reaped the first fruits of freedom; victory began at Alkmaar—but if Leyden had fallen, the whole grand structure would gradually have tumbled into ruins."

Part III.

Passing of the Sea Beggars.

FINAL EFFORTS TO FREE FRIESLAND.

SHORTLY after the capture of Briel the Sea Beggars divided into three bodies. One body remained at Briel and thence undertook expeditions into South Holland, resulting in the capture of several important cities. Another body went south and assisted in the defense of Flushing, the capture of Veer, the conquest of Zierikzee and Middelburg, as well as in the futile attempts against Goes and Tholen.

The third body went north, and by their presence in the Vlie and on the Zuiderzee not only encouraged the burghers of Enkhuisen and Hoorn to throw off the yoke, but continued to harass the commerce and the shipping of Amsterdam. This metropolis of Northern Netherland adhered to the side of the Spanish until 1578, and, consequently, every true patriot deemed it his duty to cause as much damage as possible to the city's interests.

Antwerp, in the south, was in the same predicament, and the Zeeland freebooters damaged the commerce of that southern metropolis not only on the high seas and in the estuaries of the Scheldt, but more than once undertook raids against the city's shipping in the harbor itself.

After a considerable part of Holland and Zeeland had thrown off the Spanish yoke, the States of Holland, at their first meeting at Dordrecht, on July 15th, 1572, assumed control of the war, under the leadership of William the Silent. In this they were followed two years later by the States of Zeeland. Thereafter the struggle at sea, as well as

on land, in these two provinces at least, assumed the character of an organized warfare, under the direction of a supreme and lawfully-constituted authority. As a consequence, the Holland and Zeeland Sea Beggars gradually lost their status of privateers and guerillas, and sooner or later entered the services of the States, either as sailors or soldiers. In Zeeland even the maritime cities of Flushing, Veer, and Zierikzee induced many of the Sea Beggars to take service under the city-flags, and hence we read of the navies and of the admirals of Flushing, Veer, and Zierikzee. These city navies subsequently took a conspicuous part in the war, bringing about the conquest of Middelburg and the relief of Leyden.

During the siege of Leyden, an independent body of privateers had been authorized by the city government and by the bailiff of Rhineland. They were not obliged to take part in the defense proper of the town, nor were they enforced to any other strictly military duties. Modeled upon the organization of the Sea Beggars, these "Freebooters," as they were called, under the supreme command of the former chatelain of the castles of Lockhorst and Warmond, Gerrit Van der Laen, were nearly all strangers at Leyden, but shortly before or during the siege had flocked thither in quest of adventure and booty. They usually sallied out by night, sometimes taking the roads, at other times visiting the surrounding streams and canals with their light skiffs or larger galleys, attacking or surprising the Spanish outposts and transports. Often they succeeded in bringing considerable quantities of provisions within the town. They were permitted to retain one quarter of all their booty, and the rest they contributed toward the general fund. The fact that they were yet active when relief approached, is sufficient proof of their usefulness.

More than once, in those troublous times, the States, as well as the city authorities, were unable to pay their enlisted forces. The former freebooters were thus obliged to resort to their old occupation, and to provide for themselves by plundering their country's enemies on the high seas as well as on the inland waters. Several of the Sea Beggars also did not relish a life of discipline under the flag of the States or of the cities, and they alternated between freebooting and soldiering, submitting to the latter only when necessity, or the excitement of a battle, induced them to enlist for the occasion.

As late, therefore, as the beginning of 1574, the prince was obliged to publish decrees against the use of his flag by privateers not licensed by the States, who, at their first meeting, had revoked all previous commissions, and regulated the further conduct of the war. This act, so far as the provinces of Holland and Zeeland were concerned, had abrogated the organization of the Sea Beggars, as it heretofore had existed, and subjected them to new regulations, even as privateers.

But if the main body, rank and file, of the Sea Beggars thus speedily lost their identity, and abandoned their roving existence, not so with those of Friesland and Groningen. Some of their chiefs, after the capture of Briel and the liberation of Flushing, had temporarily enlisted under the banner of Holland or of the cities of Zeeland. Most of them, however, had immediately left for the coasts and waters of their native provinces. Nearly all that had at first joined the ranks of the regulars, sooner or later went north, and united with their compatriots in the waters of Friesland.

Those northernmost provinces, groaning under the yoke imposed upon them by the energetic De Robles, sighed also for liberty, and the Frisian Sea Beggars resolved to do what

they could. Unfortunately, Holland and Zeeland, fully occupied within their own borders, could not be of much assistance; while most of the other provinces, after having partly tasted the sweets of liberty for a few months, or sometimes for a few weeks only, again passed under the yoke of the foreign oppressor. The Northern Sea Beggars, therefore, had to rely upon their own efforts to bring about the desired result, receiving only once in a while what little assistance the sorely-pressed northern quarter of the province of North Holland was able to lend.

Thus the guerilla warfare in the two northernmost provinces was kept up for several years longer, though the Frisian and Groningen Sea Beggars no longer quitted the coasts of their provinces for any extended sea voyages. Their only aim now was to harass as much as possible the Spaniards and the partisans of Spain within their borders.

Their raids and attacks, though perhaps neither as frequent nor as widely scattered as before the taking of Briel, now became bolder and more systematic. A set purpose was soon discernible in nearly every raid made by them. It became their aim to acquire in their own provinces, especially in Friesland, a foothold that would serve the same purpose as Briel, Flushing, and Hoorn served in the other provinces. More than once they obtained their object; but in most cases it was only temporary. At one time, a few months after the taking of Briel, it appeared that Friesland would speedily follow the example of Holland and Zeeland, and that the Frisian Sea Beggars would see their patriotic efforts crowned with lasting success. But, as will be narrated later, the criminal cowardice, or worse, of a trusted official of the prince, dashed to pieces the brightening hopes of the people, and the liberators were obliged to begin anew and under less favorable conditions.

Among the Beggar Chiefs who, immediately after the successful defense of Briel against Bossu, left Holland for Friesland, was the Frisian nobleman, Douwe Van Glins. He intended to do something of lasting benefit for the cause of liberty in his province, and he resolved to take up headquarters on one of the islands north of Friesland and Groningen. Hardly had he arrived, when, with two of his companions, he was surprised, captured, and, in company of several others, executed on the little Island of Rottumeroog.

About the same time, Wybe Sjoerdsz and Tiete Van Hettinga, two noted Sea Beggars, were more fortunate. In conjunction with Bronkhorst, who had come to the assistance of Friesland, they not only chased the royal galleons from the Frisian coasts, but even succeeded in temporarily clearing the entire Zuiderzee of Spanish warships.

Immediately after the capture of Briel, the descents upon the Frisian coasts had become so persistent and so dangerous to the royalists within the borders of the province, that, on April 18th, 1572, the court of Friesland was obliged to write to Alba for assistance, owing, as they said, to "the great danger and to the annoyance caused to the country by the freebooters." But this appeal availed them nothing; for, in his reply, Alba stated that affairs in Zeeland had taken such a turn for the worse that he would need the whole of his available force for the subjugation of that province. Thus, as the other provinces were unable to assist Friesland with ships and men, they prevented Alba at the same time from sending such reinforcements as would undoubtedly have rendered the cause of the patriots hopeless there.

Something decisive from the Spanish side, however, had to be done, and the pro-Spanish magistrates of Harlingen offered to equip a squadron, if the country districts and the

other cities of Friesland would assist them. Robles also was to furnish the soldiers for the fleet.

Now, since the city of Enkhuizen had gone over to the side of the prince, the danger to Friesland of raids by the Sea Beggars had much increased, and the States of the province were only too willing to consider Harlingen's proposition. On May 20th, 1572, the Frisian diet convened at the capital of Leeuwarden, but such was the distress of the people, or the temper of the majority of the delegates, that only two thousand guilders were granted for the proposed equipment, under condition, however, that the grant was to be credited to next year's taxes.

A few days before—during the night of May 17th—a well-armed body of Sea Beggars, about ninety strong, had made an attack upon the little city of Hinlopen, on the Zuiderzee. As was their custom, they paid a nocturnal visit to the most prominent and wealthy of the pro-Spanish burghers, and early in the morning departed for the Island of Vlieland, where they had their headquarters. On the evening of the 18th a goodly share of the booty found lodging in the money-drawer of the local tavern-keeper, Claes Jansz, and six of the Sea Beggars had drunk so much that "they could neither walk nor stand." No wonder the Spaniards were often able to surprise them after a successful raid!

When the news of the raid upon Hinlopen came to the ears of the central authorities, two armed yachts were immediately despatched against them; but the Sea Beggars simply laughed at so feeble an armament, and the yachts returned without having accomplished anything. On the 19th of May another body of Sea Beggars ventured on the Sloter Lake, some distance from the coast—and committed many depredations. Friesland's stadholder, Barlaymont, on the following day issued a decree by which he commanded the

local authorities along the coasts to keep a close watch, day and night. At the same time, he offered rewards, varying from twenty-five to seventy-five guilders, for the apprehension of " any of the extortioners who have committed the crimes on the aforesaid Sloter Lake." But neither the insignificant armaments nor the formidable edicts had the power to scare away the Beggars ; they replied to Barlaymont's proclamation by undertaking several successful raids into the district of Bildt.

Robles also, meanwhile, had been taking his measures. The Sea Beggars having made a descent upon the city of Kuinder, for the purpose of getting arms, the Spanish commander, to prevent a repetition, speedily threw a company of soldiers into the town, and, at the same time, was scouring the entire province for ship carpenters. They were to be sent to Harlingen for the equipment of the warships.

By June seven ships were ready, but notwithstanding the most liberal promises, sufficient crews could not be found to navigate them. Not even the threat to punish unwilling sailors as " rebels against his Majesty " sufficed to man the fleet. In this emergency, however, Robles merely emptied the prisons of those convicts that were able to navigate ships, intending to make them serve out their sentences on shipboard, while his soldiers would at the same time keep them in check, and fight the Sea Beggars.

Before ordering the ships to sea, Robles assembled a strong detachment of troops, and paid a visit to the cities of Kuinre, Workum, and Stavoren, for the purpose of frightening them, while a portion of his force was serving on the ships. On June 4th he arrived at Harlingen, and at six o'clock in the evening of June 7th the Spanish squadron left Harlingen's harbor, with a force of one hundred and fifty soldiers under the command of Captain Moncheau.

The Sea Beggars again followed their customary tactics, and sought refuge either in the harbors of Hoorn and Enkhuizen, or in the neutral waters of the Ems. Still, Moncheau was fortunate enough to capture three Beggar ships. The captain and the crew of at least one of these ships were executed on the 13th of June on the beach near the city of Workum.

As soon as the Spanish ships had departed, the Beggars returned, and carried on their depredations as usual. The great drawback against Spanish operations was a perpetual lack of money, which greatly favored the Beggars in their enterprises. Robles was continually obliged to withdraw the ships, as he could not command sufficient funds to keep them in supplies, his forces, fortunately, not being sufficiently strong to enable him to exert extreme pressure upon the reluctant Frisian and Groninger States to vote all the money needed to keep his ships in good condition.

It appears that the sympathizers of the Beggars in these provinces publicly showed their satisfaction in their success, and did not hesitate to express opinions concerning them. On July 26th, 1572, Robles wrote that it would be necessary to augment his forces and to make an example of every captured Sea Beggar, so that "the rebels in those sections shall not act so proudly, nor boast so boldly as they have hitherto done."

But there was another and much more important reason not only for keeping the naval equipment in efficient condition but for greatly augmenting it, as well as augmenting the Spanish land-forces.

On July 14th, 1572, the prince had appointed as his stadholder over Friesland, Count Joost Van Schouwenberg. Diederick Sonoy and Duco Martena a little earlier had conceived the plan of taking Robles' own headquarters, the city

of Leeuwarden. Martena gathered as many Sea Beggars around him as he could assemble; Sonoy sent the Frisian nobleman Hotze Van Buma with a company of soldiers; while another Frisian Sea Beggar, Tiete Van Hettinga, went to Bremen and Hamburg, to enlist additional men. After all had been mustered, the entire expedition numbered less than twelve companies; and with this weak force the bold leaders resolved to invade Friesland, expecting that their numbers would be materially increased by additions from the populace in the sections they were to traverse. As nearly always is the case, the people, however, were not inclined to take the part of the invaders until some signal advantage on their side should have convinced their wavering sympathizers among the populace that there existed a reasonable probability of success.

It was not until the latter part of August that a portion of the Beggar forces presented themselves before Leeuwarden. At the city gates they were confronted not only by Robles' soldiers, but also by several companies of armed burghers. On August 17th Robles had required a new oath of allegiance from Leeuwarden's people, and had thereupon armed them, "on account of which Duco Martena's attempt was frustrated."

Other bodies of Sea Beggars, however, under Tiete Van Hettinga, Jan Van Bonga, and Hotze Van Buma had better success; on August 17th and 21st they took the fortified cities of Sneek and Bolsward. On the 24th Staveren opened its gates to the Sea Beggars; and four days later the same thing was done at the important city of Franeker. Thus the Frisian Sea Beggars, with very little outside help, and almost at a single stroke, had liberated a large section of the western part of their native province.

And the liberated populations were not backward in

showing their heartfelt gratitude for the happy turn of events in their province. The farmers of the district of the Bildt, for instance, presented the Beggar garrison of Franeker with provisions. On account of this, Robles, on September 12th, 1572, wrote the *grietman* of the Bildt to order the farmers of his district to ship their grain immediately to Leeuwarden, several miles distant; those not complying with the order to be punished "by the burning of their houses and barns, and the loss of life and property."

After Harlingen, the city of Dockum, in the northeastern part of the province, was Friesland's most important harbor. A Sea Beggar, the Hollander Gysbertus, was, during the month of September, anchored with his ship and crew of sixty, under the lee of Ameland, waiting to strike a blow for liberty. Robles' difficulties in the western section of Friesland suggested to Gysbertus the idea of making an attempt against Dockum, and securing to the Frisian Sea Beggars a harbor of the same relative importance as Brielle bore to Holland. He communicated his plan to Sippe Van Scheltema, a Frisian nobleman whose castle had been destroyed by Robles, and who had sought refuge on the Island of Ameland.

Van Scheltema, appalled by the magnitude of the undertaking, and by the seeming impossibility of success, demurred at first. But Gysbertus pictured in glowing colors the woes of Friesland, and reminded Scheltema of his own demolished castle, his uncertain exile, and pointed out the weakness of the Spanish forces in the province, so that the Frisian at last consented, and engaged heart and soul in the venturesome project. Jelmer Gabbes, another Frisian Beggar chief, who happened to be at the time at or near Ameland, was also approached by Gysbertus. The Beggar captain at first refused to take part in the undertaking, with the character-

istic plea that his men could not stand against musketeers. Gysbertus, however, answered all of his objections, and Gabbes also was won over in favor of the undertaking. Other Beggar chiefs may have joined them, but history does not mention it. It is hardly probable that others did, as the main body of the Frisian Sea Beggars was fully occupied in the western districts of the province.

They now went together to Oostmahorn, where thirty of Gysbertus' men,—one half his crew,—were soon landed. Scheltema was put in command of the expedition, which immediately took the road to Dockum. Even before the Sea Beggars disembarked, large numbers of peasants from the neighborhood had congregated near the landing-place. And when they learned of the intention of the Sea Beggars, many joined their ranks, continually strengthened by additions on the onward march to the city. Upon being informed of the approach of the Sea Beggars and their rural allies, the Court of Friesland immediately sent from Leeuwarden whatever troops it could spare, and at the same time apprised the Duke of Alba of the condition of affairs in the province.

Soon Beggars and Spaniards closed in upon one another in the streets of Dockum, and a sanguinary battle ensued. At first it seemed as if the Beggars would be defeated, but the burghers quickly decided in favor of their liberators. The people of the city attacked the Spaniards on the streets and from the windows of the houses with showers of bullets and heavy stones, so that several Spanish soldiers were killed. The rest, after the loss of many prisoners, were obliged to seek a place of safety in the city tower, where they were closely besieged by the victorious Sea Beggars and their allies from among the burghers.

Robles was furious when he learned of this defeat, and he immediately sent a force of infantry from Leeuwarden

and a body of cavalry from Groningen with orders to surprise and regain the town. This time the enemy met with better success. After a fearful assault, he gained entrance into the city, and immediately began to celebrate his victory by wholesale slaughter and rapine; afterward setting fire to the town, laying at least one third of it in ashes. He would not have stopped even then had he not been checked from a totally unexpected quarter. Jan Van Bonga and Sicke Van Tjessens, two Sea Beggar chiefs, informed of the horrible tragedy, soon appeared on the scene, drove away the enemy, and happily put a stop to what has since been known as the "Dockumer Fury."

The prime mover of the expedition, Gysbertus, fared worse than the rest. After the loss of the battle he tried to effect his escape in a boat, but, owing to low tide, the boat stuck fast in the mud. He was overtaken by his pursuers who cut off his nose and ears, and then stabbed him to death.

But even before their partial reverse at Dockum the Sea Beggars had suffered one much more serious, through the loss of Staveren. Upon the conquest of this city the Spanish garrison took refuge in the castle, where they were closely besieged by the Beggars. On September 9th Robles sent seven companies of troops in aid of the besieged garrison. Accordingly, the Beggars were forced not only to abandon the siege, but were driven three days later from the positions they had subsequently taken up at Galamadam and Koudum.

The Beggar garrison at Franeker was more fortunate. On the 16th of September the Spaniards hoped to follow up their success at Stavoren, and the other points, by making an attack against Franeker. Here, however, they met with such a hot reception that they not only failed but were obliged, for protection, to intrench themselves in the monasteries of Anjum and Lidlum, and at Berlicum. The dis-

tricts of Menaldumadeel and Franekeradeel were then commanded by Robles to provide for the needs of those troops.

While Robles was thus fully occupied, even meeting with serious reverses on land, his watchful eye was closely scanning the conditions at sea. The Beggars that had remained on the deep, emboldened by the success of their friends within the province, had been more than usually troublesome to the shipping. Not dreaming of any danger or opposition, they had chosen the Island of Vlieland as their headquarters, where they sold much of their booty. In the beginning of October Robles secretly sent a force of two hundred soldiers to the island, who there surprised and defeated the Sea Beggars. During the battle Jelmer Gabbes, one of the leaders and heroes at Dockum, lost his ship and probably his life.

A few weeks later the Frisian Sea Beggars suffered their first serious reverse in the field,—in a pitched battle near Berlicum, where Robles inflicted upon them a crushing defeat.

Ever since this reverse it seemed as if fate had turned against the cause of liberty in the province of Friesland. In the latter part of October a severe frost set in, and the newly-freed cities, in order to protect themselves against a surprise from the Spaniards, emptied upon their walls tons of water, which froze, and thus rendered scaling almost impossible. This device, however, was of only temporary avail; for about the middle of November the prince's stadholder of Friesland, Joost Van Schouwenberg, after having collected a large amount of contributions for the payment and equipment of the forces, unexpectedly absconded. Robles did not fail to take immediate advantage of the confusion caused by Schouwenberg's scandalous flight. On November 22d he took the important but only partly-

finished redoubt at Mackum, and on the following day the city of Bolsward succumbed to his attack. A few days later Franeker was forced to surrender, its example being soon followed by Sneek. Thus the treacherous conduct of one man caused the patriots to lose the fruits of several months of hard fighting and of scores of valuable lives. The whole western part of Friesland again returned under the yoke of the alien tyrant. For the purpose of preventing a repetition of their late rebellion, Robles ordered the reconquered cities partly to demolish their walls and defenses.

Notwithstanding the many massacres and wholesale executions of captured rebels, the roomy prison at Leeuwarden had become too small. Robles, therefore, had been obliged to appropriate a large private dwelling, which he had fitted out like a prison. In a letter dated November 20th, 1572, he wrote to Alba about the matter, and the worthy governor-general, in his answer on December 12th, deprecated the incurring of any expense for more prisons, advising his lieutenant " to empty the prisons by executing the prisoners, without detaining them long."

Spanish successes again emboldened the pro-Spanish party in Friesland and Groningen. Wholesale arrests were made of people whose loyalty was suspected, and large numbers again sought safety in precipitate flight to hospitable Emden and Bremen.

At the close of 1572 almost the whole of Friesland was again lost to the cause of liberty, but the patriots were not disheartened. Two of Friesland's noblest and best known Sea Beggars, Jelte Eelsma and Hero Hottinga, had been fighting the battles of their country in the province of Holland ever since the capture of Briel. When they learned of the unfortunate turn of affairs in their native province they quit Holland, and with their ships and crews went to the

waters of Friesland. Here they selected the Island of Ameland for their headquarters, and as a rallying ground for the scattered Beggars—intending to renew the struggle as soon as their forces should have become sufficiently strong. Robles, however, was keenly alive to the danger threatening from this direction ; and at the beginning of 1573 he sent his lieutenant, Bustamente, with a strong force of soldiers to drive the Sea Beggars away. Eelsma and his companions, at the approach of the Spaniards, took refuge in the harbor of Emden, but immediately returned after the departure of the Spanish forces.

The prudent chief, however, not deeming it wise to undertake anything of importance without a previous reconnoissance, went himself instead of sending any of his subordinates. So on June 13th, 1573, attended by only one companion, he set foot on the beach near Holwerd. Unfortunately, a Spanish guard had been stationed there ; and the two were challenged ; and though his companion was captured, Eelsma succeeded in escaping to the beach. From there he tried to reach his boat by swimming, but the distance was too great, and the noble patriot, hardly thirty-five years old, lost his life by drowning. In the following year his widow and little daughter met the same fate between Apingadam and Delfzyl, in the province of Groningen.

While Eelsma and his associates on Ameland were preparing for their stroke, the other Beggars had not been idle. Where they were least expected they were sure to appear, as their many friends and sympathizers in the province could always inform them of the condition of affairs, and the probability of success.

In May of that year the Beggars made a descent upon Oostmahorn, and succeeded in capturing several vessels loaded with grain. They would have taken the entire fleet

had not the coast-guard, aided by a number of residents hurried to the beach and opened fire upon the marauders, who were obliged to retreat with only a part of their booty.

It was now proposed to augment the coast-garrisons, but the Court of Friesland deemed this insufficient, and even unnecessary. What they wished was a strong squadron of warships, able to cope with any number of rebels. It was said in the many complaints that " daily " large numbers " of all kinds of pirates, sea-rovers, and other rebels of his Majesty, to the great consternation and fear of the inhabitants ", crossed over from the islands to the shore for purposes of plunder. To guard against surprises by the Sea Beggars, the court designated certain places where ships would be permitted to land, or from which they could sail. Disregard of this order by any master of vessels was punishable by the confiscation and burning of his ship.

The prince had long kept his eye on Friesland. Of all the conquests by the Sea Beggars in that province, Dockum alone had been preserved, and the great leader of the revolt against Spanish domination resolved to make the best of it for the cause.

On July 22d, 1573, he organized a board of admiralty for Friesland, with headquarters at Dockum. On July 16th he had appointed Duco Martena as " Chief Admiral," while another noted Frisian patriot, Wybe Van Grovestins, was made vice-admiral a few days later. The newly-organized Frisian navy soon proved its usefulness. In the following August Martena sailed to the mouth of the Ems, to prevent, at least temporarily, the sailing from Delfzyl of a Spanish squadron.

Martena was prevented from participating in the glorious victory on the Zuyderzee, October 11th, 1573, only by the superior force opposed to him by Robles. The latter, with ten royal vessels, had captured seven grainships, coming

from the Baltic, loaded with provisions for the North Hollanders. But if Martena was prevented from taking part in the battle of the Zuyderzee he also prevented Robles' squadron from joining Bossu's fleet, and thus materially aided in bringing about the victorious result.

Inasmuch as the Sea Beggars were powerless to gain over the city of Harlingen, they conceived the idea of destroying its usefulness to the Spaniards as a harbor by sinking a few old hulks near its entrance. The watchfulness of the Spaniards, however, frustrated every effort in this direction, and Harlingen, for some years longer, remained a standing menace not only to the Frisian Sea Beggars, but to the province of North Holland.

In 1576 another organized effort was made to free the unfortunate province. The Frisian exiles had more than once supplicated the prince to do something for their section of the country, but the precarious condition of both Holland and Zeeland had prevented him from rendering any efficient aid. With the conquest of Middelburg and the relief of Leyden his hands became freer, and he resolved to make a determined effort to help Friesland.

The irrepressible Entens, entrusted with the command of the land-forces, went to the seaboard towns of Northern Germany to enlist more troops, probably from among the Frisian and Groninger exiles. They all went to the Island of Terschelling. Here Entens made his headquarters, and here he drilled and equipped his forces. Martena, meanwhile, kept the sea clear, while Sonoy and Hegeman occupied the Islands of Texel, Vlieland, and Wieringen.

As soon as Robles was informed of the preparations going on, he fitted out ships, embarked his own regiment, and went in quest of his enemy. When he became aware of the organization and the strength of his opponent, he

deemed it wise to retreat into the harbor of Harlingen, and to wait till the Beggars should have divided their forces.

In twenty-eight transports, procured from Bremen and West Friesland,—North Holland,—Entens conveyed his troops to the northern coast of Friesland, and disembarked at Oostmahorn. He hastily entrenched himself, and just in time to repulse a fierce attack by Robles, who had arrived too late to oppose the landing of the Beggar forces. The Spaniards in their futile attack lost nearly thirty men. After having reinforced himself with twelve hundred fresh troops, Robles again attacked Entens. The Spanish commander, repulsed a second time, now resolved to besiege the Beggars, and to starve them into surrender.

With scarcely enough troops to defend his positions, and without sufficient provisions and ammunition, Entens had no fear, and counted on the speedy assistance of Sonoy. Robles had been obliged to denude all the coast towns of troops, in order to besiege Entens within Oostmahorn. It would therefore be easy for Sonoy, who commanded the sea, to throw a force into Friesland and cause Robles to abandon the siege. At this time, however, Sonoy began to be beset by many serious difficulties in his own government, and every prayer for assistance from Entens must remain unanswered. Entens then asked only for the necessary supplies; but not even those could be granted.

At last, so sorely pressed was he for lack of supplies of every kind, the gallant Beggar chief was obliged either to surrender or break through the investing army. He chose the latter; and with his force of a thousand men he cut his way out. Once safely away, he disbanded his troops, each man being told to make his escape as best he could.

The organization of the Dockum board of admiralty, and the appointment of Martena as admiral of the Frisian naval

forces, resulted in the gradual dissolution of the Frisian Sea Beggars, as it had resulted in the other provinces. And when, in 1577, the province of Friesland was practically freed of Spanish domination, the Frisian Sea Beggars as a distinct force disappeared from the scene of action. And now that almost the whole of Friesland and of Groningen had been won for the cause of liberty, the freebooters began to work more damage to the commerce of the friends than to that of the enemy. Consequently, those few among them that refused to settle down, to ply their calling on the high seas against the common enemy, or to enter the service of the States, were soon suppressed by the strong arm of the law. Independent bands infested the Frisian waters as late as 1580, when Captain Jan Joosten was stationed with a warship near Oostmahorn, principally for the purpose of preventing those redoubtable Sea Beggars, Entens and Jeldert Wygers, from any longer preying upon the commerce of their personal enemies.

The Sea Beggars had served their purpose well as guerillas. But after their country, mainly through their efforts, had partly acquired its liberty, their usefulness was gone, and they passed away, followed by the applause and the blessings of a grateful people.

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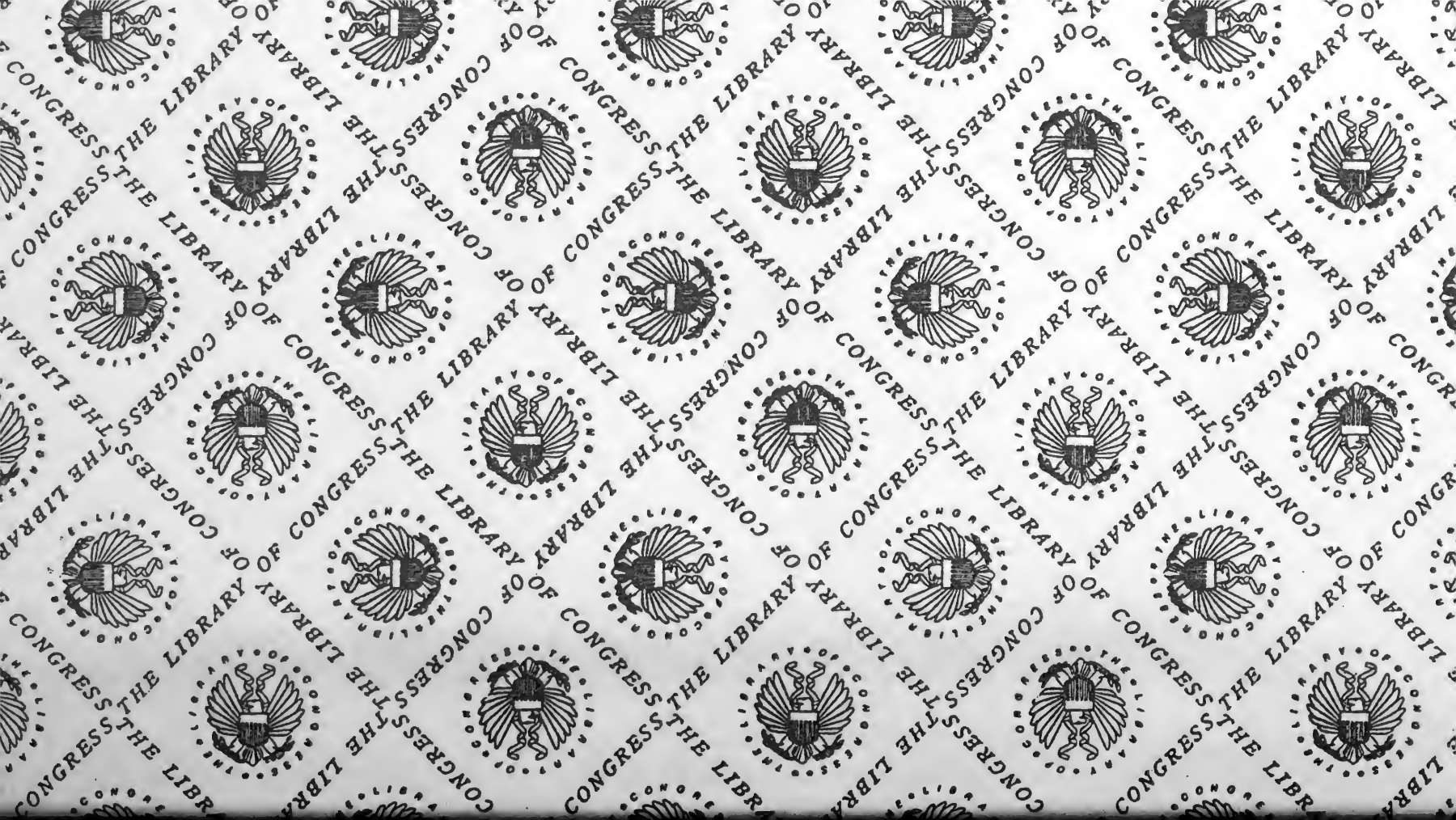
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